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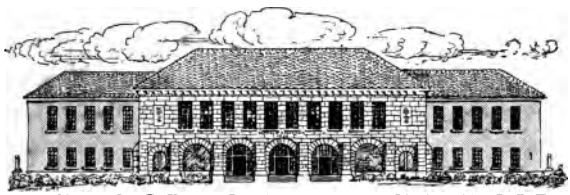

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MICHEL DE MONTAIGNE

A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

BY

M. E. LOWNDES.

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To E. S.

"Je sçais que l'amitié a les bras assez longs pour se tenir et se joindre d'un coing de monde à l'aultre."

PREFACE.

THE *Essays* are, and must remain, the chief source of our knowledge about their author. They are a source, however, whose very wealth of detail renders it not wholly superfluous to pick out and reproduce the more essential elements. And, now, the very number and variety of the reproductions that have been based upon that full original, make it necessary to compare with it the second authentic, though more meagre, portrait given in the external evidence of his life and actions. Above all, it is necessary to restore, as scrupulously as may be, the original accessories of time and place. Only by viewing the Essayist in the light of his age, can we recover, without distorting, his peculiar and significant features.

There is no single fund of external information about Montaigne. But there is now, thanks chiefly to the untiring labours of an enthusiast, M. le docteur Payen, an accumulation of tiny facts and documents of slight significance that makes up a fair sum-total. M. Payen gave his discoveries to the world—or rather to his friends—in the form of pamphlets, printed in small number and already rare. Much of their contents has

passed into more accessible places;—the valuable *Notice Bibliographique* is prefixed to the edition of the *Essays* in the *Panthéon Littéraire*: the several letters then first made public may now be read, in company with the remainder of Montaigne's unquestionably authentic letters, in MM. Courbet et Royer's edition of the *Essays* of 1595. The most important of all these *Documents Inédits* is *Number* 3, 1855, reproducing the entries by Montaigne in a copy of Beuther's *Ephemerides*, and giving a few fixed points amid so much that must remain conjecture. Connected also with the name of M. Payen are the several papers of his friends, addressed to him or elicited by his inquiries:—*Montaigne chez lui*, by MM. Galy et Lapeyre (1861), giving the results of the first careful examination of the inscriptions in the Library: the *Leçons Inédites* (1844) utilizing the Bordeaux annotated copy of the *Essays*, by M. Gustave Brunet: the *Recherches* of M. Dezeimeris, *Sur l'Auteur des Epitaphes de Montaigne* (1861), and *Sur la Recension du Texte Posthume des Essais de Montaigne* (1866), the first expending great ingenuity upon a point rather of local curiosity than real importance, the second a most valuable contribution to the history of the *Essays*. And M. Payen has a final claim upon the gratitude of students in his rich collection of works and documents relating to the Essayist, now incorporated, as a separate *fonds*—the *Collection Payen*—in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.

In the matter of 'finds' about Montaigne, the chief honour rests, perhaps, not with M. Payen but with

M. Malvezin, who published in his *Michel de Montaigne, Son Origine, Sa Famille* (1875), documents that finally settle the vexed question of the Essayist's claim to noble birth—nothing, probably, will settle that of how far the Essayist himself pretended to it. Whether with Montaigne directly in view or no, the activity of antiquarian and documentary research has been so great in Bordeaux—the town with which he was mainly connected—that it is reasonable to assume that little more will come to light. That research has been of service, even where it has not touched directly upon Montaigne, in helping to restore the closer scenes amid which his life was passed,—notably by the several *Chroniques du Parlement* and other publications of the *Société des Bibliophiles de Guyenne*, and by numerous contemporary letters and documents published in the *Archives Historiques de la Gironde.* And the paucity, when all is said and done, of our information about the Essayist's outer life, is in some measure compensated by the wealth of the sources for a general acquaintance with his times. It is no small help, in estimating the reflection of events in the *Essays*, to have for purposes of comparison their reflection in the narratives of the rough but loyal Monluc, of the turbulent reformer d'Aubigné, and of almost all kinds and conditions of men down to the sober, if uncritical, De Thou and Pasquier.

The very absence of any single and adequate external source for our knowledge of Montaigne, the

fragmentary nature of the evidence—lending to the task of repiecing it something of the fascination of a puzzle—may easily lead one to lay too much stress upon his external career. His biographer M. Grün has been reproached, not without justice, for writing *La Vie Publique* of a man who was essentially a private person. The interest of determining his points of contact with outside events is, nevertheless, great,—not because of any importance in his own rôle, but because of the influence of events upon him and upon the *Essays*. In trying to recover these points of contact, I have been largely guided by the above-named biography of M. Grün (*La Vie Publique de Montaigne*, 1855) and by the more recent work of M. Bonnefon (*Montaigne, l'Homme et l'Œuvre*, 1893[1]). The extent of these and other debts is indicated in the notes. Two works only call for special mention here, since they have been useful to me rather for the insight they afford into the general tendencies of the times than for any direct bearing upon the subject, of a kind that can be acknowledged in a note. These are the *Essai sur François Hotman* (1849), by M. Dareste, and *Les Théories sur le Pouvoir Royal en France pendant les Guerres de Religion* (1892), by M. Georges Weill. The latter especially, with its masterly analysis of the current political ideas, renders the political attitude of Montaigne at once simple and intelligible.

In its first intention, this present study was not a

[1] Republished this year (1898), with additional chapters upon La Boetie, Charron, and Mlle de Gournay, under the title *Montaigne, et Ses Amis*.

biography, but a general 'appreciation' of the Essayist. But the large number and variety of such appreciations convinced me of the futility, now, of any fresh one, unless presented in and through the data upon which it is grounded. Their variety is indeed so great—proof, it may be, of the success with which, in depicting himself, Montaigne epitomized human nature—as to form a special episode in the tale of the diversity of human judgement. I am myself indebted to none of them so much as to that of Sainte-Beuve (*Port-Royal*, Bk. III., chs. II. III.),—not, at any rate not consciously, for conclusions, but for all that stimulating of mental activity which is the highest function of criticism. In one respect, at least, the stimulus has been that of opposition. For Sainte-Beuve, sympathetic as is his criticism, was led—I think, by looking at the Essayist in the light of a different age—to accentuate out of all recognition his distinctive features. He interpreted the "franchise, simplesse et naïveté" of Montaigne as "art et finesse," and saw in him not merely—what he certainly was—one of nature's sceptics, but a sceptic by deliberate choice and parti pris. Later writers, reacting against that undue accentuating of his scepticism, tend on the other hand, so it seems to me, to lose sight of the underlying reality, with its significance and import.

A word, finally, as to editions of the *Essays*. The greatest of services to our knowledge of Montaigne has been rendered by MM. Dezeimeris et Barckhausen in

their reprint of the *Essays* of 1580 (with variants of 1582 and 1587). With this, and the edition by MM. Motheau et Jouaust of the *Essays* of 1588 and that by MM. Courbet et Royer of the *Essays* of 1595, the reader has the authentic text of the *Essays* in their three main stages of growth. For purposes of reference, I have used these more critical editions (that of MM. Motheau et Jouaust in its smaller 7 vol. form), wherever it has been of interest to distinguish between the stages of the Essayist's thought. In general, and wherever it is not otherwise specified, I have used the so-called *édition variorum* of M. Louandre,—a convenient text, as likely, I imagine, as any other, to be in the hands of the reader. As regards the translation of passages, I have not scrupled to borrow an occasional word or turn of phrase from Florio, and should have made a freer use of him had he himself not made so free with the author he professedly translates.

SWABING, MUNICH,
April, 1898.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

"Je loge chez moi dans une tour."

THE *Essays* of Montaigne, though they were written in an age prolific in personal narrative, are distinguished from all earlier and contemporary literature by their personal and familiar intimacy. The writers of Memoirs found their detail justified by the importance of the events they witnessed or played a part in; for the Essayist, the importance of events lay in their relation to himself,—a relation that sufficed to dignify the most trivial detail. He lapses even, sometimes, into a record of preferences and habits so insignificant as to rouse the impatient question, "Que diable a-t-on à faire de savoir ce qu'il aime?" But, broadly, it must be said of him that he touched, for the first time, the secret of the final—the human—interest in things. The period in which he lived is one of special interest to the historian; transmuted into human character, reflected in the mind of a disengaged spectator, it has an interest

profounder and more universal. If his occasional old-age garrulity partly excuses the irritation of superficial critics, his real self-portrayal well accounts for his speedy popularity and sustained fame. Of all who have followed in the line of self-analysis, none have left so genial and warm an image as this first Essayist, venturing upon a "strange and extravagant design," deliberately seeking to paint himself "au vif," in "the only book of its kind in the world." None perhaps has had so genial and warm a personality to portray, nor thoughts to record, so unwarped by prejudice, so full of wholesome common-sense and human wisdom.

Montaigne has given us besides, in the description of his tower-library, the pleasantest of settings to that candid image of himself. The tower served him as retreat and sanctum. Thither he withdrew from private as from public care. "C'est là," he says, "mon siege: j'essaye à m'en rendre la domination pure, et à soustraire ce seul coing à la communauté et conjugale, et filiale, et civile...." Yet it was not so remote but that he could overlook his household:— "Je suis sur l'entree, et veois soubs moy mon jardin, ma basse-court, ma court, et dans la pluspart des membres de ma maison." The library, to which the rest was mere appendage, was on the third floor. The first floor contained his chapel, the second, an apartment (une chambre et sa suitte), where he slept when he wished to be alone; up above, there was a lumber room (une grande garderobbe). Leading out of the library was "a tidy little room (un cabinet assez poly), admitting of a fire in winter, and very

pleasantly windowed." For the library itself, "The form of it," he tells us, "is round, with only so much straight as is needed for my table and my chair; and presents to my view, as it curves, all my books at once. It has three outlooks with full and free prospect, and is sixteen feet in diameter."

There, then, in facility and ease, he could pursue the third of his chosen commerces—"Là je feuillette à cette heure un livre, à cette heure un autre, sans ordre et sans desseing, à pieces descousues. Tantost je resve; tantost j'enregistre et dicte, en me promenant, mes songes que voicy..." As the scene of this inditing of his reveries, as the birthplace of the *Essays*, the tower has come to be inevitably associated with Montaigne. It saw the slow engendering and gradual growth, not in travail indeed and strenuous effort, but with a light heart and unlaborious pen, of those offspring of his mind,—more his own than the infants whose premature death he bore "sinon sans regret, au moins sans fascherie," or the one surviving daughter whose education he resigned to the mysterious ways of women.

The connection, however inseparable, might seem, in its more obvious aspect, a very freak of fortuitous association. Certainly it was no spirit of a recluse that drove Montaigne, philosopher of life as he vaunted himself, to make his retreat within a tower; nor was it a scholar's passion that made a library his chosen home. He retired at thirty-nine, "long wearied with the servitude of courts and public functions, to take refuge wholly"—so the inscription runs—"within the arms of the learned maidens"; but

the reference to the muses must not mislead us. "I, who have no other scope than to live and be merry," he says of himself in his old age; and, though he retired into a library and had about him all the apparatus befitting a learned leisure,—although the fruit of this retirement was one of the great books of the world,—he was in no sense a scholar; nor was he in the modern sense, with the modern implication of a striving after style, after perfection of expression and independent elegance of language, a writer or man of letters. "Mon art et mon industrie ont esté employez à me faire valoir moy mesme; mes estudes, à m'apprendre à faire, non pas à escrire. J'ay mis tous mes efforts à former ma vie; voylà mon mestier et mon ouvrage; je suis moins faiseur de livres, que de nulle aultre besongne...." And the standard conception of a tower, suggesting as it does austerity, seclusion, or restraint, is incongruous enough with the genial spirit of Montaigne,—genial, "fit for communication," and free, with a touch even of the vagabond.

Yet, dismissing from our minds all standard and traditional notion, we shall find his actual tower, as he describes it, to have a propriety of association more than accidental. Slightly difficult of access, it served to intercept the claims and intrusions of the outer world, but it admitted, with its wide prospect over homestead and adjacent country, all the pleasant sights and sounds, all the music and warmth of life. And it stands thus as symbol for the inmate, who held himself just so far aloof,—"resigning all foreign solicitude and trouble and mortally shunning all

manner of servitude and obligation"—beyond the turmoil of the world, at a point of vantage for its survey.

This relative aloofness, this detachment, is the distinguishing and significant feature in Montaigne. It found a practical expression in his premature retirement, and in his adhesion to Pyrrhonism a philosophic basis. To express it, he adopted as his personal device a balance, thereby indicating that he weighed all things and attached himself to none. From first to last it permeates the *Essays* and gives a unity of colour to the most varied topics,—the diversity of subject-matter becoming but the changing field for its display. In his continual self-portraiture, it is this upon which he most insists, recording it now as freedom from prejudice, now using it as a guise of irresponsibility to cover the audacity of his "human fantasies." "Je propose les fantasies humaines, et miennes, simplement comme humaines fantasies, et separeement considerees: non comme arrestees et reglees par l'ordinance celeste, incapable de doubte et d'altercation; matiere d'opinion, non matiere de foy...."

Thus sitting loose as well from his own apprehension of things as from received notions and precepts of authority, Montaigne is the supreme type of a whole race of original but unconstructive minds. So, too, he struck, in the essay, upon the form of literary expression most appropriate to such free and often inconsequent thinkers; and, as first essayist, he has his very proper and distinctive place in the history of literature.

But in the essayist generally, this detachment is the unconscious condition or substratum to some quaintness or gaiety of humour that rises to the surface and gives the individual tone, rather than, as in Montaigne, the dominant quality, clearly recognised and consciously insisted on. Its natural effect, moreover, is to lift a writer quite aside from the main current of ideas and of events, and, though it may contribute to his absolute value and literary permanence, wholly to disqualify for any place in historical continuity. Emancipating him from the prejudices and passions of the moment, it saps at the same time his power of modifying them; and it isolates him also from the profounder influences of his age. Montaigne, on the contrary, has, precisely by virtue of his detachment, an historical significance which far outreaches any purely literary estimate. He was at once a factor in the current of events, and himself a product of deeper tendencies. Mental balance, moral detachment, are with him fruits, native indeed to his own critical and independent spirit, but ripened and brought to a head by the conditions of the times. And qualities little apt, as they are, to mould thought or command action, they acquired, from the timeliness of their expression, a virtue not properly inherent in them,—coming, at the close of a century spent in futile conflict and torn by every wind of controversy, with all the force of a reaction. Published eight years after the Saint Bartholomew, during one of the brief interludes in a struggle where party spirit reached a perhaps unprecedented height, the *Essays* contributed without a doubt their quota

to the ultimate ascendency of the moderate and more liberal minority, and helped to prepare the way for the welcome at length accorded to Henry of Navarre. The more surely because unaggressively, because above all they lent themselves to the uses of no party, but hit as roundly at innovation as at persecution, they would infuse a little of their easy and tolerant spirit into a bigoted and violent world.

Nor was the movement of thought, upon whose surface agitations the *Essays* acted as a modifying agent, whose deeper tendencies they embodied, a movement confined to France, but one which traversed in succession the civilised countries of Europe. It was the renascence—"the renascence, with its powerful episode, the reformation"—which was stirring France throughout the whole sixteenth century. It reached her, at first, as a mere peaceful quickening of all literary activity—the direct result of intercourse with Italy,—soon, however, to take on the more pronounced and acuter features of the episode.

In Italy, as has been admirably said, "the revival of classical learning had occupied men's minds with the study of human character and the pursuit of beauty. It had produced a temper which was irreligious without being anti-religious, which was curious, observant and critical without being constructive." And this earlier temper was one which admitted of the co-existence of every contradiction, of the rational deduction *ex hypothesi* of consequences the most opposed to the opinions still held as matters

of faith,—which made it possible for a discussion on the mortality of the soul to be the pastime of a pope. But this preoccupation, that overlooked, rather than ignored, inherent contradiction, could not be of long endurance. The reformation forced out all the latent oppositions, and, attaching them at once to the deeper needs of humanity and to the temporal interests of individuals, effectively dissipated, in every country where it took any hold, the earlier and lighter mood. The old authorities, the old routine, could no longer be followed with that irreflective adhesion which leaves, after all, so large a licence to the reasoning faculty. La Boetie might write his *Servitude Volontaire* as a mere speculative thesis, remaining the while at heart an honest royalist, but there were not wanting revolutionary spirits to point its moral and drive home its application. The great central conflict diffused its acrimony and its spirit of partisanship over every divergence of opinion, and recruited into its ranks the most varied combatants. The theologians took cognizance of the purely philosophic heresies of Ramus; the very quarrels of philologists came to be identified with the differences of religious creed. Whether in France, with her clear-cut duality of parties, or in Germany, with her more complicated interests and minuter subdivisions, the position—so offensive to the Essayist—was rigidly maintained "whichever you will, *so long as you choose.*"

Montaigne, himself free from party-spirit, had for his contemplation a world where contradiction was no longer latent, but forced into exaggerated and partial form. Unblinded either by fanaticism or by

love of novelty, he passes that world through his impartial balance, and leaves it in what seems a mere confusion, but is from his outlook the true and just perspective. The reformation falls back to its proper place as an episode merely, though an integral one, of the renascence. All the differences of opinion, to which the new energy of the renascence had given rise, had come to be identified with the religious dissensions; Montaigne exhibited these dissensions as themselves merely instances of a diversity far more extensive. Ranging at large over the whole field presented to his view, and following, without consequence or system, each casual whim and random provocation, he dwells upon no impressive or enticing novelty, nor does he pause to insist upon the old familiar landmarks; but everywhere he notes only this same general aspect of diversity.

The times had, apart from the points emphasized in active controversy, their special disposition to this aspect. The new acquaintance with antiquity, whatever curiosity of exploration or eagerness of partisanship it might first arouse, had provided for the unimpassioned, unarrested mind a general view where diversity was the most salient feature. Bringing into simultaneous vision the whole successive range of ancient speculation, it afforded a survey of bold distinctive concepts that stood out, their nice gradations and subordinate intergrowth lost in the temporal perspective, in contrast often violent one with another. What we have now learned to recognize as a continuous growth was presented there in all the fragmentary abruptness of a disconnected

series. So, too, the recent discovery of the new world had brought upon the mental horizon a mass of new experiences and novel customs, without recognized homogeneity and impossible to fit into the old routine of imagery. It had besides a more directly negative and disconcerting influence. Enlarging the bounds of the known earth and altering its form, it upset one of those every-day conceptions which it takes more than proof to re-adjust. And not the familiar form, only, of the earth, but its place in the universe, was being freshly called in question. Daily, in brief, the old notions, the old formulas, were proving inadequate to the influx of fresh knowledge and experience, while yet that influx brought with it no new co-ordinating principle.

The *Essays* reflect this special disposition of the times. They draw from ancients and from aborigines a mass of illustration which no longer produces its effect; they present as mooted points much that is now received as scientific truth. But the argument cuts deeper than the enumeration of differences incidental to the point of view. With the genuine philosophic instinct which he possessed, for all his lack of system, Montaigne goes to the real, constant, problem, and tracks diversity home to its final seat in human nature. The changing events of life had for him their chief interest as the theatre of man's inconstancy; the variety, the irreconcilable confusion, as it would seem, of ancient philosophic notions points him to the unreliability of human judgment. Starting in that much-debated *Apology for Raymond Sebond* — the lengthy backbone of the *Essays* —

starting there from the presumption of mankind, he arrives at the same conclusion—'*Diversity the most constant quality.*' Diversity in judgement—for want of any stable principle. Lack of stable principle, of solid foundation, because the senses—to which must be the ultimate appeal—are themselves fluctuating and unstable. So that he finds himself at last on common ground with the ancient Sophists, with the Pyrrhon who came to stand sponsor to the new philosophic doubt.

Much of Montaigne's argument in the *Apology* is indeed reiteration of what passed current with the Sophists, and he has even been styled a reviver of their sect. But his Pyrrhonism is far from a mere extraneous introduction. Finding that ancient humour jump with his, and the old illustrations ready to hand in completion of his own, he adopted that former vehicle for the expression of a mood and a conclusion essentially his own and of his times. Suspense of judgement, philosophic doubt, was the proper outcome of a period which, for all the positive germs it introduced to receive development later, was in its most essential aspect a period of dissolution—a dissolution which, reducing to flexibility the congealed lines of routine and prejudice, prepared the way certainly for a new order, but had in itself no reconstructive force.

At this juncture of the history of thought, philosophic doubt was the summation, so to speak, of discredited opinions and futile tentatives. But more than this, it was the preliminary to new and better-directed effort. It gave a definite point upon which

the scattered energy should concentrate; it set the problem which in a manner has been ever since the rallying point of thought,—the problem to find a criterion of certainty, to give a test for the validity of knowledge. The answer given to this problem has divided the schools of philosophy; it was in the attempt to answer it that modern philosophy had its rise. Even Bacon, when maintaining the adequacy, with aids, of the senses, had before his mind the "Sceptics and Academics"; while chief among the elements of failure in his vast enterprise is his inability to reply to them with anything more trenchant than asseveration. Descartes, to whom the title 'Father of modern philosophy' more properly belongs, derived from the current 'Pyrrhonism' that *doubt* which was to yield him the root of a new certainty and to be the point of departure for a new conquest of all knowledge.

For Montaigne himself, the philosophic problem, though on occasion he can amply recognize it, is a matter of slight concern. The epithets Sceptic, Pyrrhonist, so often given him, are terms far too pronounced for the writer of the *Essays* in his habitual mood. The *Inconstancy of human action*, the *Uncertainty of human knowledge*, — these titles to two of the *Essays* give the keynote to the whole. *Diversity the most constant quality*, is Montaigne's conclusion of the whole matter of human life and thought. But this wide conclusion is for him only the basis of indulgence in a temper which had its chief affinity to that earlier temper, no longer possible in its original irreflective naïveté,—one "irreligious

without being anti-religious, curious, observant and critical without being constructive." Reasonably based and grounded, this temper might have no longer the full freshness of its earlier manifestation, but neither was it now to be lightly dissipated at a touch of interest or passion. And if distant from the spring-tide of the renascence, far more widely was it removed from mere fin-de-siècle weariness. To its last declination, Montaigne found life "to be both prizeable and commodious," and his constant recognition of vanity, though it served to confirm a natural indisposition to action, yet reflected upon life no sense of vapidness.

In his tower, withdrawn from active participation, he yet had life about him, warm and vibrating, in all its fulness. As from without it reached him, shorn only of its importunities, so within, along the rounding walls, the 'seasoned life of man'—for such essentially to Montaigne were the books of his chosen commerce —faced him at his table; that 'life-blood of master spirits' rendered the more precious from the memory of La Boetie, the master-spirit who had bequeathed him most of them. In himself he has the nearer field for contemplation. His past experience, cleared in memory of every perturbation, yielded the spectacle of that France under the sons of Catherine of Medicis, which is thrown into such harsh relief by the background, drawn from his books, of ancient and heroic Rome. His personality, displayed as well in the daily ménage as in larger relations, remained an unfailing piece of life as he liked it best, of life seen as human nature.

And thus he, *himself*, is his most frequently recurring theme. So much so, that among the reasonable grounds he manufactures for his writing is the desire to leave his friends and relatives a picture of himself. "Je l'ay voué" (his book) "à la commodité particuliere de mes parents et amis: à ce que m'ayants perdu..., ils y puissent retrouver quelques traicts de mes conditions et humeurs, et que par ce moyen ils nourissent plus entiere et plus vifve la cognoissance qu'ils ont euë de moy.....c'est moy que je peinds."

Mingled more largely with other matter than this warning would give his reader to expect, it is yet a complete and consistent picture that Montaigne, master of introspection, has given of himself,—of his whims and foibles partly, but,—more insisted on,—his real defects and qualities. Neither permitting his passions to influence his judgement, nor his judgement to react upon his passions, he has a clearness of discriminating vision that the modern psychologist may well admire.

He reports, as he says, himself,—"his essence and his cogitations, not his actions"; and it has been complained of him that with all his talk he gives little definite information, and that little unreliable. Yet the *Essays* are not wholly without autobiographical content, and what there is of independent evidence goes to confirm, if it fail to complete, his own fragmentary statements. It serves at least to substantiate the general picture, with its salient features; the happy childhood, the unique education under the best father that ever was, the prime and

age of life passed in deliberate retirement and reflective leisure,—with an intermediate youth upon whose vague and faintly tinted canvass is painted one momentous incident, the 'perfect friendship' with La Boetie.

CHAPTER II.

BIRTH AND EARLY TRAINING. THE ESSAY ON EDUCATION.

MICHEL Eyquem de Montaigne was born in 1533 the year of the opening of the Collège de Guyenne; he died in 1592, some eighteen months before the reduction of Paris by Henry IV. The first event, purely local as its interest might appear, was a sign which marked the full tide of the literary renascence in France: the second was the final peaceful close, "sans sac et sans effusion de sang," to over thirty years of civil and religious war.

Francis the First's patronage of learning left its impress upon France by the encouragement it gave at once to education and to printing. The 'Royal Press' and the 'Collège Royal de France' remain as witness, but, though the central and most permanent, they were by no means the only results of that double direction of activity. Printing-presses were, on the one hand, multiplied throughout the kingdom, while, on the other, the reform and increase of the more elementary schools came as an essential complement

to the new advanced teaching from the royal chairs. In Paris it was a question of reforming old foundations; in the provinces the foundations were for the most part to be created. And the creation of such a school, elementary, yet invested to the very teaching of the horn-book with a new solemnity and fervour, was at Bordeaux—the town most closely associated with the Eyquems of Montaigne—the central feature of the literary revival.

It seems probable that the Collège de Guyenne was first projected on the occasion of the visit of Francis I. to Bordeaux in 1530—that same year in which the Collège de France was founded—; but whether the scheme originated with the town, or with those advisers of the king whose constant aim was to give substantial shape to his uncertain zeal, it was in any case warmly taken up and made their own by the Bordelais.

Bordeaux was, then as now, a town of no small importance. Then, as now, owing its prosperity to commerce, it boasted an affluent and rising bourgeoisie. Its prosperity—dating from the wise enactments of Louis XI.—had already lasted long enough to have set many families beyond the need for continued effort; already the sons and grandsons of successful merchants were overlaying their humbler origin with the names and arms of properties purchased from an impoverished nobility. In a community where this element preponderated so largely, there was at once leisure and vigour to welcome the new learning; and it was, as a fact, precisely among the middle class—relieved from the cares of money-getting and without

the tradition of arms which conduced to keep the 'haute noblesse' illiterate,—that the renascence took most root in France. With the genuine interest of the few in learning, co-operated more sordid motives. A better education facilitated the entrance to the magistracy and to public offices, which formed a bridge over to the envied rank of the 'petite noblesse.' And at Bordeaux there came into play perhaps a certain municipal ambition,—the desire to make the town, of first order as a commercial centre, a centre also of culture, worthy to rank with her near rivals Toulouse and Poitiers. The University, of ancient foundation, had been wholly unable to compete with that of Toulouse, and its two faculties, both medical and legal, were almost deserted. Nor did an inefficient and neglected Grammar school afford any better provision for the more elementary education of the youth of Bordeaux. Parents, resolute to obtain for their children a better teaching, had begun to send them to Paris, at great expense, and to the detriment, it was found, of their health, so far from home surveillance.

The new school thus answered to a conscious want,—a want which it was very amply to satisfy. The jurade—an elective body answering broadly to our town-councils—who were entrusted with the execution of the scheme, displayed an admirable zeal. The buildings of the old Grammar school were adapted and enlarged, funds were guaranteed, a principal and staff of teachers found; and in 1533 the college courses opened. A year later the first principal, whose unaccommodating temper was already

disorganising the staff, was dismissed with signal promptitude and replaced by the man who was to approve himself at Bordeaux "the greatest principal," and to make the Collège de Guyenne "the best school," in all France.

André de Gouvéa had already, as principal of the Paris college of Ste. Barbe, a certain reputation as a schoolmaster; he was known too in the republic of contemporary learning. And while retaining the pick of his predecessor's staff, he was able at Bordeaux to gather round him men who represented fairly all the varied culture of the times. *Antoine Gouvéa*, brother of the principal, 'poet, philosopher and jurist'; *Jacques de Teyve*, historian of the *Conquest of Diu by the Portuguese*; *Grouchy*, "who wrote *De Comitiis Romanorum*," and whose disputatious writings and learned lectures (he was singular in using Greek instead of Latin in commenting upon Aristotle) won him a wide renown,—these three, with *Guerente*, writer of Latin plays, came with Gouvéa from Paris. A little later came *Mathurin Cordier*, who had been the master, and was to become later the friend, of Calvin,—whose zeal for teaching and love of children found expression in his *Latin Colloquies* and in his *Civilité Puérile*. *Fabricius* and *Britannus*, 'Ciceronians' both, represented the more exclusive literary side of the new classicism; and the letters of the said Britannus, originally preserved doubtless for their pure Latinity rather than for their contents, are of interest now for their many and enthusiastic references to Gouvéa and to the school.

To Bordeaux, the merit of the masters meant

more than the assurance of an excellent school. A body of men of this calibre,—a few years later the Scotch historian and poet, "*poetarum nostri sæculi facile princeps*," *George Buchanan*, was added to the number, and later still (1547) the young *Muret*, whose eloquence and poetical gift won him an even greater contemporary fame than his erudition has preserved,—brought with them, in the language of the day, all the muses to the town. Grouchy's lectures upon rhetoric, open to the public, attracted a wide circle of auditors; Antoine Gouvéa was envied even by Cujas for his knowledge of jurisprudence, and would be especially welcome to the magistracy, among whom were already jurists of distinction. And, still more than in their several proper spheres, the newcomers would give a stimulus to all that general concomitant activity, antiquarian and imitative, that made so large a part of the literary revival. With their concurrence in the fashionable rivalry of verse-making, for 'tumbeaux' and other 'several occasions,' with their interchange of complimentary—or insulting—epigrams, they would doubtless bring provincial culture, as they had brought the local school, to bear comparison with Paris.

In the year (1530) when the college was first proposed, Pierre Eyquem de Montaigne, father of the Essayist, was "premier jurat" at Bordeaux, and must have come in this capacity, as in the various municipal offices which he held successively, up to his mayoralty in 1554—6, into close connexion with the scheme.

Pierre Eyquem, sketched by his son with a touch deepened here by feeling, is a personality full of

warmth and colour; realised in his environment, these qualities are but enhanced. He belonged to precisely that class of well-to-do bourgeois that made the strength of the community. The Eyquems of Montaigne reckoned, from the Essayist back, but four generations. "Michel de Montaigne, son of Pierre, grandson of Grimond, great-grandson of Raimond," is the genealogical record on his tomb. *Raimond Eyquem* or *Ayquem*, a simple Bordeaux merchant of wine, dried fish and pastil,—the staple commodities then of Bordeaux commerce—, acquired by purchase in 1477, towards the close of his own life, that property "of Montaigne and Belbeys...with the vines, woods, lands, fields and mills thereto pertaining," whose title was to be first annexed to, and at length to supersede, the humbler name of Eyquem. *Grimond* continued his father's business, extending at the same time his property, and acquiring, it would seem, by his wealth and the advantageous alliances he made for himself and for his family, something of the character of a local magnate. The line of purely mercantile activity was broken first by *Pierre*, who followed for many years the wars in Italy. Yet even he, when he returned at the age of thirty-three to marry and settle quietly in his native town, so far kept up the family tradition as himself to sell, in the town commercial house at Bordeaux, the wine grown upon his country property.

The family of the Essayist was thus not at all, as the amiable ignorance of Sainte Marthe reports it, a family that from father to son had followed the career of arms. Rather was Joseph Scaliger near the literal

truth, when he called Montaigne the "son of a herring-monger." "Son père étoit vendeur de harenc." Yet truth, if sometimes humbler, is almost always more interesting than fiction. Montaigne may himself have had a weakness for the more gentlemanly status, but to the biographer he has, as the offspring of this progressive bourgeoisie, a new interest and intelligibility. His practical good sense and refusal to be 'paid with words' may be seen as the apotheosis, in a manner, of the sterling bourgeois qualities, altered only by extension to matters commonly judged by prejudice and preconceived opinion. He owed at least his integrity and love of truth to a race "fameuse en preud'hommie," in an age when pilfering and lying were common aristocratic vices.

It was his bourgeois origin, moreover, that brought Montaigne into natural relations with the intellectual current of his century. He himself, in spite of his distaste for public affairs, might at one time, had fortune tempted him, have well been drawn into the public service; while his father, the Pierre Eyquem in question, was of an active, rather than reflective, temperament. A simple and loyal nature, full of energy and delighting to expend it even to old age in feats of physical strength and in the service of his fellow-citizens, he might readily, one must suppose, have been absorbed in the career of arms which the nobility regarded as their proper vocation. As it was, called to the less stirring life of country-gentleman and citizen in a provincial town, his energies were free to assimilate the new ideas and to expend themselves in part upon schemes of education for his

son. His share in the Italian wars was but an episode,—those campaigns affording then an occasion for the Wanderjahre of all adventurous youth, much as later it became the fashion to spend several years in better regulated travel. The one warlike trace we find in him, after his campaigning, is the turn he gave to the improvement of his property,—replacing, in the year 1554, the ancient château by a new fortified building, better suited to the disordered times.

But from Italy he brought back the fire of the new learning. "My house," writes Montaigne, "has been open for many a long day to men of learning, and is well known to them; for my father, who ruled it fifty years and more, kindled with that new ardour, wherewith King Francis the First embraced letters and set them in fashion, did search out the acquaintance of learned men at great pains and cost, entertaining them as holy persons, and as having some peculiar inspiration of divine wisdom, gathering up their sayings, and their discourses, as oracles, and with the more reverence and piety for the less he had of means to judge of them; for he had no knowledge of letters, no more than his predecessors."

This ignorance of letters was not, it would seem, so great but that he could turn a schoolboy kind of Latin verse; but at the least—and it is this that makes him so interesting a figure—it was not in such fashionable and puerile form of literary activity that his enthusiasm lost itself. From the elder Montaigne we win a pleasanter image of the working of the new ardour than from all the laborious industry of imitation

and research that gained praise from the century's biographers. His simple reverence for learning—the greater from his want of means to measure it—has in its naïveté a flavour of that first enthusiasm, whose larger indefinite hopes bore the literary revival on to its real, though more limited, achievement. Rome and Greece were looked to as the repositories of all knowledge and, more than that, as renovating powers for life. "We are persuaded"—so runs the privilege for the royal printing-press—"that these sound studies will give birth in our kingdom to theologians who shall teach the sacred doctrines of religion; to magistrates who shall administer justice without partiality and in the spirit of public equity; and finally to skilled administrators, the lustre of a state, who will be capable of sacrificing their private interest to affection for the public good...Such are among the benefits that may reasonably be looked for from sound studies and from them almost exclusively."

Hopes such as these, perhaps not often so clearly formulated, gave its prestige to learning,—a prestige which the linguistic feats of scholars, and even their gradual conquest of philological and historical knowledge, were powerless to sustain. Such hopes went to the foundation of the new colleges. "This," the privilege continues, "is why we have but recently assigned liberal salaries to distinguished scholars for the instruction of our youth in the tongues and sciences, and for their training in the no less precious exercise of good manners." And we find it confidently anticipated by Lefebre d'Etables at an earlier date, that the proper use of riches will result from the

college courses. "If," he makes the masters say of an imaginary pupil, child of a rich merchant, "he leave our hand wise and learned, he will make a proper, just, and generous use of the wealth which Polyphragmon" (the father) "has acquired with such labour, watching, danger and fatigue."

The elder Montaigne, bringing his enthusiasm back from Italy into a community touched with a like fervour, and about to give it, in the foundation of a school, just this practical turn, might well have followed in the general current. Both as the public-spirited citizen he soon approved himself, and as devotee of learning, he must have favoured a scheme so evidently beneficial to the town and attracting to it men of so great and varied acquirements. And there are, as a fact, tiny indications which show him to have been on friendly terms with the masters, and ready, when occasion offered, to promote the interests of Gouvéa.

But he was so far from devoting all his zeal to the college that his interest in learning rather shows itself in contrast to the current movement. There is no individual mention of his name, as there is of others among the jurade, in connection with the care of the buildings, or the funds; and this evidence of reserve, purely negative and of the less value from the fragmentary nature of the records, is yet significant in view of his determination not to rely on the college teaching for his son. His mind indeed was already possessed by other notions. He had brought with him from Italy, so his son narrates, a scheme more thorough-going than any college. Making

all diligent inquiry among men of learning and understanding, he had been assured that the sole hindrance to attaining "la grandeur d'ame et de cognoissance des anciens Grecs et Romains" was the length of time expended in acquiring languages, which the ancients themselves had possessed at no cost.

To the next generation was reserved the ironic comment "I do not believe that to be the sole cause." The simple faith of Pierre Eyquem busied itself only to devise a remedy for a defect which, to less enterprising minds, would seem inseparable from difference of birth and country. Eminently practical, he was of that uncompromising sort of practical nature which goes to the making alike of pioneers and of Utopian speculators,—a nature that rather runs to interesting experiments than helps on the lumbering car of steady progress. Since his son could not be born an ancient Roman, he must needs latinise his nursery, and even indeed the whole neighbourhood, that the Roman language might at least be more familiar to him than his native one.

The brief space that intervened before the first loosing of the child's tongue, he had already utilised to attain, by like heroic measure, another object which he had at heart. With the aim, partly, of hardening him, but also of knitting him by affection with the common people, he sent him from the cradle to be nurtured in a poor village and after the roughest manner, and to the same end had him held at the font by persons "of the lowliest condition."

But the little Michel had not yet learned to lisp

when he was given in charge to a German, wholly ignorant of French and "very well versed in Latin." This tutor, brought over for the express purpose and at a high salary, had the child always about him. Two others, less learned but yet speaking with their charge no tongue but Latin, acted as assistants. "As for the rest of the household," Montaigne relates, "it was an inviolable rule that neither he" (the father) "himself, nor my mother, nor valet nor maid-servant, should utter in my company anything save such Latin words as each had learned in order to prattle with me. It is wonderful what a fruit every one had of it; my father and mother learned by that means enough Latin to understand it, and acquired the tongue sufficiently well to make use of it on occasion, and so did those of the servants that had most to do with me. In fine, we were all so Latinised, that it even overflowed to our villages, where sundry Latin names of workmen and of tools may still be heard, and have indeed taken firm foothold by usage. As for me, I was more than six years old before I could understand any more French or Perigordic than Arabic; and had learned without art, book, grammar, or precept, without the whip, and without tears, a Latin as pure as that known by my teacher; for I had no means of mingling or corrupting it."

Greek he was to learn by way of game and pastime, in anticipation of modern kindergarten methods, 'playing with his declensions'—"pelotions nos declinaisons à la maniere de ceux qui, par certains jeux de tablier" (check-board) "apprennent l'arithmetique et la geometrie."

The moral regimen was in still more decided contrast, than the mental, to the system then in vogue. The case of Montaigne may have been the only one in which the native French was quite tabooed, but it was a common endeavour among contemporary scholars to make Latin the medium of spoken as of written intercourse. The family of the Estiennes spoke habitually Latin; Latin was the language of the colleges out of school hours as well as in them; the eight year old Mary Tudor, afterwards Queen of England, had playfellows of her own age recommended to her to the sole end that she should exercise her Latin. The same ideal of the day finds expression in Mathurin Cordier's account of a well-prepared child of five, an account that might almost have been written with Montaigne in view. The singularity of the Essayist's early Latinising rests only in its uncompromising thoroughness, and in its institution by a parent who was no scholar but a country squire of very moderate acquirements. The gentleness of discipline ran, on the other hand, directly counter to traditional opinion. In an age when the use of the rod was carried to brutality, the youthful Michel "tasted the whip but twice, and that very slightly." And to so extreme a point did his father carry his dread of violence that he had the child always roused from his morning slumbers by the sound of music—"keeping a spinett-player expressly to that end."

Though bold to institute his scheme, and consistent in its execution, the elder Montaigne was not proof against its apparent failure. The gentle suasion of

music and perpetual pastime failed to stir a nature "so heavy, dull and drowsy" ("si poisant, mol et endormy"), that it could not be "torn from idleness, not even to go and play." "Ce que je veoyois," says the Essayist, "je le veoyois bien; et, soubs cette complexion lourde, nourrissois des imaginations hardies, et des opinions au dessus de mon aage. L'esprit, je l'avoy lent, et qui n'alloit qu'autant qu'on le menoit; l'apprehension, tardifve: l'invention, lasche; et, aprez tout, un incroyable default de memoire." And the "bonhomme," his father, "fearing exceeding to fail in a matter he had so much at heart, allowed himself to be carried away by popular opinion, which always follows, like the cranes, those that have led the way, yielded to custom," and sent the child to school.

The pressure of public opinion was the greater no doubt from the success of the Collège de Guyenne, "très-florrissant pour lors" and already approved, after three or four years of Gouvéa's rule, "the best college in France." Montaigne's school-days coincided, indeed, with the school's most brilliant period. He came under the direct supervision of Grouchy, Guerente, Buchanan, Muret,—playing a part too in the Latin plays which Guerente and Muret composed, according to the fashion, for the boys to act. His father took the utmost pains to secure for him competent tutors ("precepteurs de chambre"), having regard before all else to their "debonnaireté et facilité de complexion"; and, so far from an unconditional surrender of his theories, he hedged the child round with all manner of precautions "contrary to the custom of colleges," as to the manner of his nurture.

It may have been to meet the known wishes of the father that a tutor of intelligence fostered in him a love of surreptitious reading. The first taste he had for books came to him, about the age of seven or eight, "from the pleasure of the fables of Ovid's Metamorphoses." "I robbed myself of all other pleasure" so he tells us, "in order to read them; the more that this was my mother tongue, and that it was the easiest book I knew, and, from the matter, the best suited to my tender years; for the Lancelots of the Lake, the Amadis, the Huons of Bordeaux and other such rabble (fatras) of books as please children, were unknown to me even by name...so nice was my discipline. I became the more negligent in the study of my prescribed tasks. Here it fell to my lot with singular timeliness to have to do with a tutor of intelligence, who cleverly connived at this debauch of mine and at other such—for I passed at one bound to the Aeneid of Virgil, then to Terence, to Plautus and the Italian comedies, lured on always by the sweetness of the subject...He (the tutor) behaved ingeniously, making as though he noticed nothing; he sharpened my appetite, permitting me to feast only surreptitiously upon these books and keeping a lax hold upon me in respect of the regular studies."

This gentle regimen did nothing to supply the missing strenuousness of character. The danger remained, not that the child would do ill, but that he would do nothing. Yet Montaigne does not the less commend this article in his education. For himself, he is of opinion that his mind would have utterly

refused to yield to force and violence, as in general theory he blames all rigour in the upbringing of a young mind, "qu'on dresse pour l'honneur et la liberté."

In the matter of learning he holds that, but for his tutor's judicious blindness, he would have brought back from college, "in common with the most of the noblesse," nothing but a hatred of letters. Even with this modifying influence "c'étoit toujours collège." His fine Latin speedily deteriorated, and of other knowledge he gained but a smattering of all things in general "à la française" and nothing to the purpose in particular. "For, at the age of thirteen, when I left the college, I had finished my course (as they call it), and, to say the truth, without any profit that I can turn now to account."

The experience of the son thus confirms the tentative distrust of the father for those places of education, to whose making had gone so much zeal and enterprise, and which we, looking back, reckon high among the fruits of progress. The truth seems to be, that, while they were but cumbersome and dilatory expedients to that ulterior purpose which made so much of the earlier motive-force, they were quite admirably adapted to their immediate end. The elder Montaigne, who had that ulterior purpose near in view, might hesitate to send his son to the College which lay, so to speak, at his very door; Jules César Scaliger, representative figure of the more definite culture of the day; "qui tint de son temps le souverain empire de bonnes lettres," was, on the contrary, at no small pains to procure that

same training for his children. The young Joseph Scaliger, together with his brother, was sent from Agen, under the charge of a preceptor or pedagogue, to receive at that same school, where Montaigne tasted but the 'paring' of knowledge, the seeds of his exact linguistic learning.

The programme of studies instituted by Gouvéa, and recapitulated in 1583 by the then principal, Elie Vinet, who had been a member of Gouvéa's staff, gives us a close insight into the defects and merits of the school.

In its first intention, the teaching embraced 'the three tongues' (Latin, Greek and Hebrew), which made then the full measure of linguistic achievement, as also the "seven arts." In actual working the school aimed primarily, as the programme very simply states, at the teaching of Latin (*ut Latino sermoni cognoscendo haec schola in primis destinata est*). Hebrew was not taught at all. Gouvéa had never succeeded in finding a professor, and both he and his successor Gelida were exempted from their undertaking to provide one. Greek was taught in the upper classes, but much less exhaustively than Latin, while the Arts, which formed a sort of supplementary course (for which residence was not required), seem to have been kept in strict subordination to the languages (Latin and Greek) in which they were couched, and to the language (*Latin* usually—in the single glorious instance of Grouchy's lectures on Aristotle, *Greek*) in which they were expounded. Out of class, too, the children were expected to talk Latin, a process—to judge from the specimens of their dog-Latin given by Cordier—,

eminently adapted to corrupt the fine Latinity of the young Montaigne.

Latin the college undertook to teach from the very elements to a full mastery, to this end receiving children of seven years and under. In the 10th, or lowest, division, they learnt to repeat the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer and the seven psalms, together with the easy inflexions of nouns and verbs, as contained in the horn-book (*Libellus Puerorum*). Seated on long benches, the more advanced in the front rows, they repeated their lesson, word by word, syllable by syllable, letter by letter, after the teacher. The authority of Quintilian had suggested for these infants what we have reached by dint of theories and systems—that bare repetition, without the learning by heart, suffices to impress the youthful memory. "This is so tender an age," recalls the programme, "it must not be too rigorously pressed, nor a complete work be at once exacted from it...For this reason the children of this class are not obliged to learn by heart, but that which is often repeated to them imprints itself by nature upon their memory. Now, among other things, the flexions of nouns and verbs are repeated to them..."And as an example of a lesson, the master takes the fourth of the seven psalms and pronouncing the word *miserēre* the children repeat after him, *miserēre*. Then the master spells the word, pronouncing first the letters, then the syllables. Thus the master *m. i. mi*, and the scholars after him, *m. i. mi*; the master *s. e. mise*, the scholars *s. e. mise*, and so through the whole of the lesson, the scholars

repeating in successive groups of two and three, till they have all had their turn. And then with a single voice the whole class repeats—always after the master—*miserere mei Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam.*

These youngest children learnt also the first use of the pen, an exercise which called for another considerate remark. "If, as often happens, it should come into a child's head to draw on his paper a man, a dog, a horse, a tree, etc., he must not be beaten for it—unless indeed he should have neglected the prescribed task. For...the art of drawing is very useful, and, as Pliny says, the first thing taught throughout all Greece to the children of freedmen."

The admonition, its utilitarian apology notwithstanding, calls up a pleasanter image of the college life than that which Montaigne gives of "most of our colleges," with their trembling pupils and class-rooms adorned with bloody rods. The controlling spirit seems indeed, whether later under Eli Vinet, or in the early days under Gouvéa, to have been one of comparative mildness. The *pedagogues*, or inferior masters, were entirely forbidden the use of the rod.

In the next class, the children learnt to read and write correctly, in both French and Latin, and thenceforward, to the end of the regular course, the main business is reading and writing Latin, with text-books of increasing difficulty;—Cato, Cicero, again and again Cicero, seasoned in the upper forms with Terence, Ovid, and with Virgil, serving the turn of modern standard-readers. French was the medium merely for rendering the Latin texts intelligible, and

for setting themes to be translated into Latin,—Montaigne, from his ignorance of the French language, requiring his themes to be set, as he relates, in bad Latin to turn to good. Greek and mathematics were relegated to the public courses, open to all the children but compulsory only upon the upper forms, Greek upon the upper five, Mathematics upon the upper two,—and occupying a very small proportion of the time. In Greek, Demosthenes and Homer were the text-books, Homer taking somewhat the place of Cicero in Latin. And always it is the same method,—repetition after the teacher, verbal and grammatical explanation.

Since Latin was at that time, not only the key to antiquity, but also the language of almost all current literature and the instrument of all, save the rudest, written communication, the college, in its preponderating care for that tongue, answered the purpose practically of a school of primary education. And it is in such an institution—in our modern board-school, rather than in our public-schools,—that the method of teaching finds its closest analogy. The analogy extends, quaintly enough, even down to the minor practice of setting the children to sing in the "spare moments";—one is tempted to find it again in the exaggerated hopes entertained, by the pioneers in either educational movement, as to the power of reading and writing, whether in Latin or in English, to disseminate virtues which experience rather shows to remain with the unlettered peasant.

The general method,—repetition after the teacher, verbal and grammatical explanation,—is one admirably

adapted, with its exercise of the mechanical faculties, to the acquirement of a language. Under such a system the young Henri de Mesmes learned, in eighteen months of college life, to recite Homer from end to end, to compose Latin and Greek discourses for public recitation, together with Latin verses and two thousand Greek verses "faicts selon l'aage." Nor were his faculties stunted in the process, for he passed on brilliantly through the law schools, and, while retaining always his scholarly tastes, became in after-life an accomplished diplomat and courtier. But often enough, doubtless, Montaigne's contempt for these "latineurs de college" must have been well justified by their exclusive head-knowledge. Montaigne himself, who was no such docile pupil, and who, moreover, had acquired his Latin at less cost, remembered only the weariness of the process. "On ne cesse," he complains, "de criailler à nos aureilles, comme qui verseroit dans un entonnoir; et nostre charge, ce n'est que redire ce qu'on nous a dict." The English scholar Bentley brought, two centuries later, a similar complaint against the Wakefield Grammar-school, where his "dunces" of teachers could not see that he was more busily engaged in fixing his lesson in his memory than if he had been "bawling it out with the rest." Montaigne, who seems at no time to have struggled with his defective verbal memory, would have made no such claim. His complaint cuts deeper, and is directed against the whole waste of time and the abuse, as he esteems it, of mental activity. "On nous tient," he laments again, "quatre ou cinq ans à entendre les mots, et les

coudre en clauses; encores autant à en proportionner un grand corps, estendu en quatre ou cinq parties; aultres cinq, pour le moins, à les sçavoir briefvement mesler et entrelacer de quelque subtile façon,"—there is not so much time to be spared for the study of words.

Montaigne's reminiscences of his early teaching occur in the Essay *De l'Institution des Enfants*, and are incidental to his mature views upon the training proper to the youthful mind. Nothing exposes better than these views, the positive contents of the *Essays*, and nothing better marks the place of the Essayist in the line of positive and progressive thought.

The classical revival was to drop, by an inevitable process, those more living and present hopes which had borne it on to a firm foothold. The outcome of learning was to be, not a return to the wisdom and virtue of the ancients, but the conquest by slow degrees, through the patient researches of philologists, through the persevering reconstructions of historians, of a sounder knowledge of antiquity. Scholarship became more and more an end in itself, —a separate field which, yielding its more succulent fruits only to a few elect spirits, of penetrating vision and infinite persistence, provided a vast surface dust for the picking over of the duller labourer. France was the home, in the latter half of the 16th century, of much genuine research and solid learning, but, at the same time, of a vast amount of pedantry. The real scholars were almost swamped in a shoal of imitators, disputants and commentators, who may

be counted over by the score in the contemporary biographical dictionaries of La Croix du Maine and Verdier, or their ubiquity more pleasantly realized from Montaigne's story of the "man of letters and of reputation," replying in sober earnest to the farrago of nonsense strung together as a joke, or from his picture of the blear-eyed scholar losing health and eyesight in the effort, not to become a wiser man, but to learn the scansion of a Latin verse.

The pedantry of the age was peculiarly fitted to turn away from learning the quicker spirits,—nor indeed has even genuine scholarship, with its infinite pains and its tardy recompenses, at any time the qualities that engage the sympathies, and hold the interests, of the plain and practical man. The more vital interests,—the curiosity about the universe, the search for a rule of life or government,—were not to wait for the piecing up of Greek and Latin texts. Rather was it gradually recognized that antiquity was furnishing, in the words of Gibbon, "fetters, and not wings, for the human mind." The consciousness of this was to result, later, in the complete revolt against authority, and to find a popular expression in the controversy between the Ancients and the Moderns, to which we, in England, owe the *Battle of the Books*. But already in the 16th century a measure of self-assertion, in the face of the Ancients, was beginning. While successful imitation of Virgil or of Ovid was still the general standard of a poet's merit, there were certain admirers of Ronsard and du Bartas who were bold to claim for these writers a more real equality with their ancient models.

And—what is of more significance—a certain scientific independence in the investigation of nature had arisen out of the very study, at first wholly servile, of the classical authors. In the study, for instance, of anatomy, the example of the ancients led to the use of personal observation, to confirm their discoveries first but then to correct their errors, until at length nature came to supersede the text-books. The very year that the *Essays* were first published (1580) there appeared too those *Discours Admirables*, where Bernard Palissy challenges the mockery of those who hold it impossible for a man ignorant of Latin to penetrate the secrets of nature, by an appeal, to no ancient author, but to his cabinet of curiosities.

Montaigne stood at the parting of the ways. He does not in the least anticipate the rise of that scientific spirit which was finally to supplant authority. He does not apprehend the significance, even, of the positive discoveries of the age; accounting them as but so many new varieties of human opinion. Thus he fails apparently to recognize that the circumnavigation of the earth had really diminished the likelihood of finding new worlds. Nor does he direct his imaginary pupil to the observation of physical nature. Pupil and governor alike must derive their science, such as it is, from the ancient text-books,—the sole advance of his method, in this respect, upon that in vogue, lying in the greater regard he would have paid to the "marrow and substance," rather than the words.

It is, however, only concessively, and as a

supplementary exercise, that the acquirement of positive knowledge enters at all into Montaigne's curriculum. The end of education is, in his view, the practical conduct of life. "Le gaing de nostre estude, c'est en estre devenu meilleur et plus sage"; the child whom he elects as imaginary pupil is to turn out a 'man of capacity' rather than a 'man of learning.' And far from him indeed is any such grasp of science as could suggest the practical uses of geometry or of astronomy which Rousseau, applying in the light of a different century the same fundamental precepts, would enforce upon his Emile. Even had such uses of the sciences been within his compass, Montaigne—a landed proprietor who scarce knew the difference between wheat and barley—would have perhaps despised them as basely utilitarian rather than practical in his larger sense. It is not there, at any rate, that his concern lay. For, to the "great humanist," as Pater aptly calls him, "le grand monde," which is to be his pupil's book, is not the inert material framework but the active scene of human life,—his practical end is not the conquest of the physical environment but, at its lowest, the conduct of affairs, and at its highest, the worthy "savoir vivre" of a man among his fellows. "Cette grande image de nostre mere nature" presented to Montaigne a picture very different from that which it calls up to us, with our conception of interlacing effect and cause, or than it called up already to Pascal, who re-echoes the Essayist's thought in one of the most famous of the *Pensées*. What Montaigne read upon the face of nature was not her immensity, nor the

immutability of all-embracing law, but the variety, endless and universal, of humours, sects and judgements, of opinions, laws and customs,—and these it is that he will have his pupil study, to the end that he may judge soberly and soundly of his own.

In the Essayist's theory of education there is operative, in fact, that same largely practical sense which made so distinctive a feature in his father's character; only the naïve reliance upon almost occult properties in Greek and Latin has here yielded to a very definite apprehension of means and consequences. Carrying forward the early hopes of a more fructifying culture, he dissociates them from the linguistic studies to which they had been subordinated. The classics are to him still the main body of what mankind has said or thought, and contain,—more directly to his purpose,—the record of the best that mankind has done. His pupil is to draw a part, even the chief part, of his experience of men, from those that live only in the memory of books,—and, first among books, he is to draw from Plutarch. But the virtue that Montaigne finds in Plutarch is as recorded life and not as language, and can be studied as well in the translation of Amyot as in the original Greek. And above all, not as language, nor even as facts, to commit to memory, but as material for the exercise of judgement;—"que mon guide se souvienne où vise sa charge; et qu'il n'imprime pas tant à son disciple la date de la ruyne de Carthage, que les moeurs de Hannibal et de Scipion; ny tant où mourut Marcellus, que pourquoy il feut indigne de son

debvoir qu'il mourust là. Qu'il ne luy apprenne pas tant les histoires, qu'à en juger."

Nor is the history of the more heroic past to be the only field of study. Rather must the past be viewed in the light always of the present. All things,—"la malice d'un page,...un propos de table"—, are food for judgement. The immediate circumstances and environment, the events of daily life—judgement is to be exercised on these, and with judgement, observation. The field too of present observation is to be so far as possible enlarged. The child must travel, see other manners, practise other customs, not with the purpose either of the tourist or the young gallant—"not to gather from it only, after the manner of our French nobility, how many paces the Santa Rotonda measures, or how rich are the hosen of the Signora Livia; or, as others, by how far the countenance of Nero, in some old ruin there, is longer or broader than in some similar medal; but to gather principally the humours of these nations and their manners, and to polish and point our wit against that of others."

Shifting thus the burden from the memory to the judgement, Montaigne at once advocates an independence in the face of antiquity, none the less real for going hand in hand with admiration, and, always within the compass of his interest, anticipates the free use of observation, differing from the scientific only in its subject-matter and final aim. In one passage of the later essays, he seems indeed to recognize the fruitfulness of direct observation for the acquirement of knowledge as well as in the

conduct of life. Mocking at the pedantic habit of quoting the ancients in support of the most obvious facts—"as though it were nobler to borrow from the stores of Vascosan or of Plantin than to take what is to be seen in our village"—he adds that, in his opinion, "des plus ordinaires choses et plus communes et cogneues, si nous sçavions trouver leur jour, se peuvent former les plus grands miracles de nature, et les plus merveilleux examples, notamment sur le subjet des actions humaines."

If, in seeking to bring education to bear on life, Montaigne was fixing in more definite lines an earlier ideal of the Renascence, he was also echoing, almost certainly, a contemporary discontent with actual results. Writing in England a little earlier, Roger Ascham already had call to resent "that lewde and spiteful proverbe...that the greatest clerks be not the wisest men,"—and his report of the English boys who go to school as "little children" and leave it as "great lubbers," is the counterpart to the complaint which Montaigne had, as he says, from "men of understanding," that it is the colleges which blight the fair promise of the "little children in France." Above all, the school training, proper enough perhaps to breed the recluse and silent scholar, was found unapt to fit young men for public affairs or for life at a court ever more and more exacting in its demands on a ready wit and habit of the world.

It was to meet a recognized want that La Noue, turning over in prison his country's needs, and hoping to redress to virtue a corrupt nobility, devised his scheme of Academies for children of gentle birth.

This scheme, which was to avert the moral dangers of apprenticeship to arms, or in a nobleman's household, without incurring the social disabilities of college life, has in its reasonable common sense—the care, for instance, of body as well as mind—a certain correspondence with Montaigne's own views. But La Noue was concerned to reform the state, and takes into account the general practicability. Montaigne, who was no innovator, falls back, as alternative for the colleges which he disapproves, upon a plan in vogue already among the few who could afford it—the appointment of a governor with, if required, a more learned tutor under him.

The method was one suitable enough for the child—as yet, by the way, unborn—who serves as occasion to the Essay, and Montaigne is regardless of the fact that but few could profit by it. But while La Noue's treatise loses freshness, from its very excellence for the purpose in hand, with the circumstances of time and place that called for it, the Essay of Montaigne has, from under its straiter specific detail, the preserving touch upon the universal. Of the *Essays* it may certainly be said that "philosophy has the privilege of mingling with everything,"—not that mere moral doctrine in which from time to time the Essayist preaches moderation and the golden mean, but the philosophy which consists in viewing broadly humanity and life. Education is for Montaigne the problem to train, to make a *man*, and—unless to the specialist in pedagogy—the Essay keeps its virtue rather for the human wisdom than for the pedagogic scheme.

To the student of Montaigne himself, it is significant that the irresponsible writer, who recommends with a flourish, at the outset, the high practical use of learning to conduct a war, command a nation, negotiate with princes or foreign people, lapses before he leaves his subject into a more feeling praise of the "spectator at the Olympic games," and avows that, "if the governor be of his humour," he will not engage his charge at all in the cares of public life. These passages, though they are amongst the innumerable after-thoughts which swelled the bulk of the *Essays* subsequently to their first appearance, fall properly in place amid advice which, giving all the weight to judgement, provides the judgement with diversity as its sole food, and leaves it, for the conclusion of the whole matter as in each several instance, *to decide if it can for either side, if not, to remain in doubt.*

CHAPTER III.

LEGAL STUDIES. VIEWS ON JURISPRUDENCE.

AMONG the grounds which Montaigne alleges for bringing education to bear more closely upon life, is the brevity of the time allotted then to learning. "The child affords to pedagogy but the first fifteen or sixteen years of his life, the remainder he must give to action." And a knowledge of the customary allotment of the years is almost our sole guide in tracing the Essayist's own career from his schooldays to his entrance upon the scene as magistrate.

He left school at thirteen and, thanks to the nursery latinizing, had passed, in that stay of seven years, through the complete course. So much we know from his own statement. The 'course' refers, in all probability, to the course of grammar which, as we have seen, was the more peculiar aim and object of the school. Enabled by his precocious knowledge of Latin to skip the abecedarian classes, the young Michel would be brought, by the customary yearly move, to the topmost of the ten grammar classes in

just about seven years. Then, though his residence at the college ceased, he continued his studies, it is plausibly conjectured, for two or three years by attending as a day-boy the courses of rhetoric and dialectic. He would thus come quite naturally under the tuition of *Muret*, whom he claims for one of his domestic tutors, and could naturally have acted in Muret's Latin plays.

Later, since he was destined for the magistracy, he must have qualified by special legal studies at one or other of the Universities. The probabilities lie between the ancient, but neglected, University of Bordeaux, and that of Toulouse, then widely famous for its law-schools. Montaigne's biographer Grün, and more recently M. Bonnefon, give the balance to Toulouse, and, though the point cannot be settled definitely, the bare possibility that he studied in that hotbed of juristic activity enhances the interest of his mature reflections upon jurisprudence.

The age of Montaigne was the age of *Cujas, Duaren, Hotman*,—the age when the science of jurisprudence attracted a number of the best intellects in France and, in their train, an almost innumerable host of lesser men. The revival of learning had opened a new era in the study of the Roman Law. "The century from the year 1500 brought us," as Etienne Pasquier records, "a new study of the laws, which lay in the intermarriage of the study of jurisprudence with humane letters through the medium of a precise and polished Latin tongue."

Inaugurated in France by Budé, the new study, as Pasquier goes on to narrate, found an eager

following..." in the town of Toulouse a Corras and du Ferrier,...in Valence an Aemilius Ferretus, in Cahors a Govéan,...in Grenoble, and in Orleans a Jean Robert, and Guillaume Fournier; in Bourges, Baron, Duaren,...and especially the great Cujas...." So opens a long account, which has yet no pretensions to be exhaustive.

The new efforts tended in part to the restoration of corrupt readings; in part to the reinstatement of the Roman Law—conceived hitherto with the irrefragable authority of the dead hand—back under the conditions and circumstances which had given it life; and again in part they took a certain philosophic rationalizing turn. But all had the common merit of returning from the voluminous subtleties of the commentators to the actual text, of studying "the law in the law itself." The new school, whatever the divergencies, and indeed very acrid quarrels, of its several professors among themselves, made a single crusade against the obscurantist party, who held still faithful to the commentators with their barbarous Latin, their lack of method, their endless refinements one upon the other, to the total neglect of the original text.

The Universities were filled with enthusiastic students. The biographies of the time yield such incidents as that of the first meeting of the friends Loisel and Pithou in a book-shop, where the young Pithou, discussing a difficult passage, "approved himself the more admirable in that he was so young as to be commonly called 'le petit Pithou'." Or again as that of Alciat's generous pride in his pupil Pibrac,

who argued so skilfully in a public discussion of an obscure passage that the great Alciat "was not ashamed to own openly before the whole audience that he yielded up his arms to this young champion." And Etienne Pasquier counted it "one of the best pieces of fortune that befell him in his youth," that he began to study law the very day that Hotman and Balduin opened their courses in Paris.

At Toulouse, famed for its law schools long before the rise of the new jurisprudence, the Bartolists made a braver stand than elsewhere. Birthplace of Cujas, it was there that Cujas was lecturing in the very years that Montaigne must have been going through his course. But, to the triumph of the obscurantists and the enduring obloquy of Toulouse, the occurrence which, rather than his birth, connects the name of Cujas with that town, is his rejection for a professorship, in 1554, in favour of the Bartolist Forcatel. None the less he had there his following of students, the more ardent doubtless for the stimulus of opposition.

As a child at school Montaigne had shown none of the premature zeal which really, it would seem, was not uncommon in his day, and which he was singular—among men at least with any claim to letters—in condemning. Neither as a youth was he moved by the obscurities of the law to the current ardour of elucidation. There was indeed a reverse to that picture of eager students vying with one another to unravel difficulties—a reverse forcibly set before us by one of the most eminent among the new jurists, by François Hotman himself. In his *Antitribonian*, Hotman describes the intricacies of the existing law

in France, and the sorrows of the law-students. He exposes the corrupt state of the Roman law, as received through the treatises of Justinian and Tribonian; the vast expenditure of mere grammatical labour required before its meaning can be mastered; its frequent inapplicability, when mastered, to present conditions;—and demands, "What profit falls to the French youth from their great and sustained labour?" "What are they indebted to those who oblige them to spend their time in the study of things which are of no profit or usage in human life, and of ancient fables (as Justinian calls them)." In the study of the laws, for instance, of succession, "instead of grasping the law of direct succession...one is constrained to rack one's brain and understanding in searching out this whole long discourse about the most ancient laws, scattered and dispersed in so many different passages, and very often wrapped up in subtleties and knotty questions which serve only to torture (gehenner) the minds and understandings of the poor students. But another and greater evil is, that, after having thoroughly racked one's head, one finds that in the greater part of France the right and usage of succession is entirely different."

Hotman's vigorous treatise does far more than echo the complaints, current with the newer school of jurists, against the hairsplitting of the commentators. He has indeed his tale of the famous André Tiraqueau, who "ofttime in his treatises, enriched as they were with a prodigious number of these allegations and chaffering authorities, after having piled up the testimonies and concurrences of a hundred, or of six

hundred doctors of the one opinion, would add some such remark as this: 'And that you may know, gentle reader, that there is nothing in all our law which is not ambiguous and matter for dispute and controversy, I will now set forth as many or more who hold the contrary opinion.'" But he recognises perfectly that, from the point of view of discipline and practice, the ancient evils have only been augmented by the new union of jurisprudence with polite learning. For not only were the law schools divided into "two sorts and as it were sectaries (partialitez) of lawyers, of which the one set are styled "pettifoggers, Bartolists and barbarians," the other "humanists, purists, and grammarians...," but within the second set the subtleties of the commentators were but exchanged for the minutiæ of the grammarians. The anecdote of André Gouvéa caps that of Tiraqueau. For Gouvéa, after having published a work on an abstruse question, "about ten years after made a retractation of his book and prefaced his discourse with—'Just as heretofore no man...has understood the question *de jure accrescendi*, so I own that I for my part had not myself understood it until this day.'" "And yet," says Hotman, "all their tragedies are but grounded on certain questions of Latin grammar"; the books of Duaren and Gouvéa "are entirely filled with these questions pertaining rather to a good grammarian, practised in Cicero, Terence and other Latin authors, than to a political philosopher arguing of reason and equity, such as should be a jurist."

It is little wonder, he concludes, that many of the youth "called thus to consume the flower of their age

in the study of these books...the greater parts of which are either wholly abolished and dropped out of use, or filled with disorder and confusion, or stuffed with contrarieties and antinomies, or chequered by mistakes and errors, or brought into doubt and dispute by the daily corrections and changes,—it is little wonder that an infinity of these young men, even such as are of a generous and noble nature, should turn with disgust from the study of the law to some other calling—or, if held to it by external circumstance, should shirk it so much as they can (s'en desrobent le plus souvent qu'ils peuvent), and employ their time more willingly in reading some philosopher or historian, or generally in some other study."

Certainly it is among this latter youth, rather than with the Loisels and Pithous, that we must place Montaigne. The passages in the *Essays* that treat of jurisprudence echo much of the complaint of Hotman, with a flavour of more personal disgust. "Why is it that our vulgar tongue, so simple in all other uses, becomes obscure and unintelligible in contract and testament; and that he who can express himself as plainly as he likes, in whatsoever else he say and write, may not find in that any mode of declaring his mind which is not subject to doubt and altercation; unless it be that the princes of this art, applying themselves with peculiar attention to pick out solemn words and frame artistic clauses, have so weighed every syllable, so primely sifted out (espeluché) every species of connecting link, that it has come to be thus entangled and embroiled in an

infinity of figures, and in divisions so minute that they can no longer be brought under any rule and prescription....Subdividing these subtilties, they teach men to multiply doubts; they set us upon the extending and diversifying of difficulties, they draw them out, they disperse them....We doubted over Ulpian, and doubted again over Bartolus and Baldus. The need had been to efface the trace of this innumerable diversity of opinion, and not to deck themselves out with it, and fill with it the heads of posterity." "We open the matter, and spread while diluting it; of one subject we make a thousand, and fall again, with our multiplying and subdividing, into the infinity of the atoms of Epicurus....Consider the form of this justice which controls us; it is a very testimony of human imbecility. Such contradiction and error is there in it."

Notwithstanding that "no quality is so universal... as diversity and variety," Montaigne will not accept the opinion of him "that thought by the multitude of laws to curb the authority of judges, *en leur taillant leurs morceaux*." He perceived that the number of the laws could never rival "the infinite diversity of human accidents," that "the multiplying of our inventions shall never come to the variation of examples." "Add a hundred times as many unto them, yet shall it not follow, that of events to come, there be any one found, that in all this great number of thousands of selected and enregistered events, shall meet with one, to which it may so exactly join and match, but some circumstance and diversity will remain, that may require a diverse consideration of judgement.

There is but little relation between our actions, that are in perpetual mutation, and these fixed and immoveable laws: the most to be desired are the rarest, the simplest and most general; and yet I believe, it were better to have none at all, than so infinite a number as we have."

In holding thus, for his ideal, that the best laws are the rarest, simplest and most general, Montaigne is again at one with Hotman, as too in his desire, expressed elsewhere, that more freedom of discretion should be left to the individual judge, who should be chosen, moreover, for his natural parts rather than for his learning. Hotman's proposed reform is to just the same tenour. He would leave the settling of disputes to "men of natural good sense and God-fearing, rather than to learned and subtle doctors of jurisprudence." "At the same time, not to loose the rein too much to an uncontrolled license of judging in all causes, it would be easy (so it seems to me), and chiefly at this time when it has pleased God to lend us a Solon in our France, who is the great Michel de l'Hospital, to assemble a number of jurists, together with sundry statesmen, and as many of the more notable advocates and lawyers (praticiens) of this kingdom, and to give to them charge to make a common report of what they should have recommended and extracted, as well from the books of Justinian as from the books of philosophy; and finally from the experience they may have acquired in the treatment of affairs." And Hotman would have the law, thus sifted and selected, drawn up clearly in the vulgar tongue.

Hotman wrote his *Antitribonian* at the instigation, it is said, of the Chancellor l'Hôpital, and in the view certainly, and hope, of a practical reform. How near at heart l'Hôpital had such reform appears from his posthumous *Traité de la Reformation de Justice*; and although that treatise, penned in retirement, was the expression of hopes which already had proved abortive, it is evident that, under his rule, the drastic measures advocated by Hotman had been held to be within the scope of practical politics. Ramus expressed, in 1567, similar views: "The laws of the Romans were written," he observed, "in their native tongue and drawn up in twelve tables, which the children learned by heart. The French, in place of these twelve tables, have myriads of laws, set forth in a foreign tongue. Is there none among so many jurists, who will undertake to clear up and simplify this chaos? Why should Cujas, to name but one, find the task beyond his powers? And you, Michel de l'Hospital, you that have the power, why do you not procure for your country so great a benefit?"

With l'Hôpital's loss of power all question of realizing this benefit ceased. He himself wrote his treatise in retirement, with merely retrospective reference to his own policy, and with vaguely philosophic generalizing rather than with definite hopes. And by the time the *Essays* appeared, the Saint Bartholomew had long since closed the door to all conciliatory policy and all peaceful reform.

Whether in his earlier years Montaigne came ever into personal contact with this or some similar scheme it is impossible to say. The passages already cited

show conclusively enough that, in such a case, the practical man in him would have sympathized with the end proposed. And yet his part, if he played one, would far more probably have been among those raisers of difficulties whom Hotman hastens to refute. We may well suppose him, half in earnest, half by way of jest, hampering the enthusiasts with "the ancient saying of Alcibiades, that, of all men, those live in most security who put up with their laws and customs, even though there should be something to complain of," or recalling "that Plato says often, that it is very pernicious for youth to be accustomed to dispute about the laws accepted in their country." Already he might have been among those who argued the disorders of the times and danger of making things worse; still more it would have been in his vein to have pointed out the wider application of the argument; to have urged "that it will not do to reject the books of Tribonian by reason of the debates and contentions that follow upon their interpretation; in as much that, for the same reason, it would be necessary to condemn Philosophy, Medicine, and, what is more, the study of Theology, in the which there is more of quarrelling and dissension, and much more dangerous, than in all other sciences and professions."

L'Hôpital moreover, and with him Hotman, were guided in their hope of reform by certain philosophic notions in which Montaigne, though at times he appears to adopt them, yet saw, with the implacable keenness of his insight, all the inherent flaws.

Of all the ancient thoughts revived at the

Renascence, none took more ready root, among the soberer Frenchmen of the 16th century, than the stoical notion of a universal reason and of immutable moral laws, or laws of nature. L'Hôpital could believe firmly, amid all the chaos of actual legislation, that "reason should be the soul of the law," that "divine justice and actual right are the same for the savage of America and the Christian of Europe": that "the rule of justice,—render to God what is due to Him, and do unto others as you would they should do unto you,—is common to all men living by the simple light of nature and possessing reason." And so too Hotman would have brought into the body of the law, as he desires it, such of the legislation of Moses as is "based upon that natural justice (droiture), reason, and equity, to which all the habitants of the world...are and remain subjected by nature: the which rights of nature the ancient Pagans styled the right of gens or peoples."

It would seem in direct answer to such a faith as this that Montaigne pronounces, "But they are merry, that say, when they would give something of certitude to laws, there be certain forms, perpetual and immutable, which they call natural, which are imprinted upon the human race by the condition of their proper being, and, of these, give the number now of three, now of four, now more, now less: token that it is a mark as doubtful as the rest. Now, they are so ill-fortuned (for what else can I call it than ill-fortune? that, of so infinite a number of laws, there is not to be met with even one that fortune has permitted to be universally received by the consent of all nations),

they are, I say, so unhappy that, of these three or four selected laws, there is not a single one that be not contradicted and disavowed, not by one nation, but by several. Now, the only presumptive token whereby they can argue any natural laws, is this of universality of acceptance; for what nature really ordains us, we should follow doubtless with a common consent...."

If even so direct and practical a scheme could not command Montaigne's assent, far less had he any sympathy with the slow, laborious work of systematization and amending to which Hotman, scholar and grammarian as well as practical reformer, lent so ready a hand. Slow and laborious as it was, and ill-adapted to the young practitioner and student, the work of the sixteenth century jurists was really in the line of clearance and of synthesis. It is possible even that this preliminary work of reducing to unity, of removing much of the lumber of centuries, was essential before the reform contemplated by Hotman could be satisfactorily executed. And Hotman, far keener than Montaigne for a short cut to reform, was yet content, failing that, to lend his learning as grammarian to the emending and elucidating of the texts. Montaigne, on the contrary, was never drawn into the work of systematization, had not even a share in the reduction of local customs, which was carried on side by side with the more learned study of the Roman law.

The disagreements and quarrels of the new, as of earlier, jurists went doubtless to augment his distaste for such labour, and his sense of its futility. To him,

in the meantime, the diversities of legislation as of custom, were an abundant field for his mature reflections upon the uncertainty of human judgement. "There is nothing so extreme," he can declare, "that is not accepted in the practice of some nation or other." And his conclusion of the matter is, that "les loix prennent leur authorité de la possession et de l'usage; il est dangereux de les ramener à leur naissance: elles grossissent et s'annoblissent, en roulant, comme nos rivieres."

CHAPTER IV.

MONTAIGNE AS MAGISTRATE.

THE changes which l'Hôpital proposed to make in the legislature were, in his eyes, but subsidiary to an all-embracing reform in the administration of justice. The evil which he most regarded, in the existing complexity of the law, was not the time wasted in its study, but the handle lent to the corruption of magistrates and to the idle hairsplitting of pleaders. As Montaigne also notes, the licence of interpretation left more "questions for a friend" than would a reasonable liberty of judgement.

The abuse and sale of justice was indeed the crying evil of the time. The venality of offices introduced by Francis I. had brought about so rapidly the multiplication of posts, and of suits, that the country could, not without reason, be styled a very "kingdom of litigation." The post of magistrate, a reward previously of merit, had become the natural purchase of any parent anxious to start his son in life. Pasquier mentions it as a signal merit in the president Augustin de Thou that "whereas it was

the custom of the wealthiest families of Paris to allow no leisure for their children to look about them (de se recognoistre), but to promote them, immediately on their return from the University, by money to a post, especially of judicature; yet this worthy man permitted neither this son, nor his second...to rise by this means, but rather by the steps of merit, which are based upon a long patience, and desired that the one and the other should go to the bar."

The president, Augustin de Thou, father of that president de Thou whose life Pasquier is recording, belonged already to a bygone generation. By the time Montaigne had qualified for the magistracy, such scruples must have become still more rare. Even the oath, which was still exacted, that no money had passed in the transaction, had become one of those pure formulas which the most truthful men seem able at all times to repeat without a strain upon the conscience. In the case of Montaigne it would seem that his father bought in 1554, not directly for his son but for himself, a post as magistrate in the newly formed Cour-des-Aides at Périgeux, and that then, called in the very same year to the mayoralty of Bordeaux, he at once resigned it to the young Michel. That the son would not yet have reached the regulation age of twenty-three, presents no serious difficulty, since that rule was one frequently overlooked.

But whether it was in 1554 or a little later that Montaigne was invested with the dignity of magistrate, in any case he was one of that body transferred wholesale to Bordeaux in 1557, to form there first a species of auxiliary court and later to be quite simply

fused with the 'Parlement' proper. His name figures second in the list of 'conseillers.' It figures too several years later, in certain disputes about precedence to which the fusion of the two courts gave rise. The Bordeaux Parlement had resented sharply the erection of a Cour-des-Aides at Périgeux, diverting its 'custom,' as, under a system which made justice a commodity to sell, lawsuits actually were regarded. It resented again the intrusion of the Périgeux members into its own body, whether in the form of auxiliary court or of simple additional magistrates; and after futile attempts to gain redress from the king, it fell back upon petty annoyances to the newcomers—grudging them room to sit in, treating them as inferior in position to any magistrate elected, however recently, directly to Bordeaux.

Montaigne has recorded, in the *Essays*, his sense of the incongruity of the whole system of justice, as then administered. "What is there more barbarous than to see a nation where, as a legitimate practice, the charge of judging is sold, where judgements are paid for in plain ready money, and where justice is refused, legitimately, to whoever cannot pay for it"; and again, "what thing can be stranger, than to see a people obliged to the observance of laws, which it does not in the smallest understand; tied in all its domestic matters, in its marriages, donations, testaments, in its selling and buying, to rules which it cannot know, they being neither written nor published in its language, and whose interpretation and usage must of necessity be bought?" And the manner in which he was received into the Bordeaux Parlement

brought him more especially in contact with the petty and mercenary spirit of that body.

And yet the Bordeaux Court of justice, for all the admixture of a trivial and mercenary element, was still far from the days when it could be said of the members generally that "their only care was who should walk first in the procession." When Montaigne joined the Parlement, there were many magistrates of more than local reputation for learning or for public zeal. The Arnaud de Ferron, who was allied in friendship with La Boetie, was well known for his work alike in jurisprudence and in 'belles lettres.' Even the president Roffignac, who represented the party of extreme bigotry and narrow-mindedness, had contributed his share towards the clearing up of the laws, while his rival Lagebaston would seem to have been the counterpart, in a smaller sphere, of the Chancellor l'Hôpital, with his tolerance and public spirit. And Montaigne, though, as a member from Périgeux, at a certain disadvantage, must have found himself at Bordeaux in a very nest of friends and relatives. His uncle, Raymond Eyquem de Montaigne, was an old and respected magistrate there; the La Chassaigne, whose daughter he afterwards married, was of an ancient magisterial family. Lagebaston himself, he could claim as a friend of his and "of all members of the house of Eyquem,"—a fact which transpires in the course of a dispute.

And while the ordinary legislative duties were perhaps at Bordeaux, from the wide area and variety of local customs coming under its jurisdiction, of more than common tedium or intricacy, the disordered

state of the country lent at this juncture a quite special weight to the function of a magistrate.

In 1548, at a time when Montaigne was probably still attending classes at the Collège de Guyenne, there had been already an outbreak at Bordeaux which clearly exposed the turbulent elements at work and was, in its brutal circumstance, only too faithful an epitome of the troubles to come. The revolt against the gabelle, or salt-tax, remained, through the ensuing horrors of the civil wars, a stain upon the history of the town. The discontent was general throughout the province—it had its rise, it would seem, in that Saintonge which was also a birthplace of the Reformation—but came to a head only at Bordeaux. There the authorities were quite unable to hold the populace in check. The revenue officer was atrociously butchered and the king's lieutenant, de Moneins, induced by La Chassaigne, then president of the Parlement, to face the mob, met with a like fate. La Chassaigne himself was forced to accompany the rioters about the town, and gained at last a certain control over them only by apparent acquiescence in their movements. The punishment that followed was even more disastrous to the town. The Connétable de Montmorency, sent to quell the rebellion, arrived when it was already over, but treated the town nevertheless with all the rigour of a conqueror. The humiliated inhabitants were compelled to dig up the hastily buried corpse of the lieutenant—history says with their finger-nails;—the bells which had rung to revolt were taken down; the privileges of the city were curtailed; for a time even the

court of justice was suspended and its members—La Chassaigne in particular, who had involuntarily assisted in the riot—were subjected to trial at Toulouse. How deep the impression made upon the town, appears in the very exaggerations of a contemporary writer, who reports Montmorency as entering, not by the gates, but by a breach effected in the walls. It appears too in the fact that the famous *Contr'un* of La Boetie was thought, by some at least of his contemporaries, to have had its origin in the indignation of the youthful author at Montmorency's rigour. As late as 1556, the city was still agitating for the full recovery of its privileges,—the elder Montaigne travelling, in his capacity as mayor, to Paris in order to soften the heart of the king by his entreaties, and by a present of the town's best wine.

This revolt against the salt-tax, though to all appearances an isolated incident, and for all its purely secular cause, is yet, within its narrow focus, representative of what was to become, from the religious differences, the general history of the province. The town of Bordeaux remained, perhaps from the salutary recollection of that incident, fairly within its duty during the civil wars, but the province that came under its jurisdiction was a very hotbed of disaffection, and the constant scene of punishment. The fate of De Moneins was rivalled by that of De Fumel at the hands of his Lutheran dependants; the vengeance of Montmorency upon Bordeaux in 1545 pales before the progress of Monluc in 1562–3, with his two familiar laquais, throughout Guyenne. It was indeed in closest 'connaissance de cause' that

Montaigne describes his home as "assis dans le moïau de tout le trouble des guerres civiles de France,"—that district serving from first to last as a main platform of the civil wars.

Long before open hostilities broke out, the Bordeaux Parlement was concerned with the punishment and restraint of heresy. The Reformation had taken a very early hold in Guyenne, and could claim in Bordeaux,—though that town was never, like Agen, one of its strongholds,—many of the more notable citizens as adherents. The Parlement itself was not exempt, while at the Collège de Guyenne several of the regents—Buchanan, Cordier, Budin—belonged openly to the reformed faith. It would even seem that the contagion had spread among the scholars. They were suspected so early as 1542 of sympathy with the young Aymon de la Voye, burned almost at the door of the college, and at that age sympathy with a victim is barely separable from party spirit for a cause. Montaigne was a child then at the college, and may well have been moved with his schoolfellows,—perhaps even, in that extreme youth, actually tempted for a moment by "the danger of the enterprise." Later, as magistrate, he came into more responsible connexion with these matters. The court at Bordeaux was, when he joined it, divided into a lenient party and an intolerant, the one centering round the first president Lagebaston, the other headed by the second, Roffignac. The case, graphically narrated by De Thou, of the burning of heretics in 1556, shows clearly the divided judgement of the magistrates and the tension of spirits at the time.

Several heretics were burned that year—a certain Jerosme Casobone, Béarnais, is mentioned by name—so far as appears, without let or hindrance. But with Arnaud Monier and Jean de Caze, natives of Libourne, the affair did not pass so lightly. The youth, partly, of the offenders awakened sympathy. The opinion of the judges was divided; some were for pain of death; others argued, more humanely, that it sufficed to send the accused for two months or longer to some monastery, where they could meditate upon, and perhaps renounce, their error. The comparative novelty of this immediate condemnation of heretics was urged—neither the Scriptures nor the Fathers warranted it—, and again that no strong measures should be taken until the general œcumenical council, then sitting, should have pronounced upon all doubtful points. The opinion of the tolerant minority was however overridden; and, at the prompting chiefly of Roffignac, the sentence of death, by strangling and burning, was pronounced.

The sentence was executed with the town-gates shut, and all precautions taken against a popular rising—of which there must have been some rumour;—and yet so great was the tension, that it needed but a clumsy accident on the part of the hangman to set up a veritable panic. The ladder slipped as the noose was being adjusted, the hangman fell, the strangling was not effected, and Monier was burned alive, to the loud horror of the nearer spectators, not yet inured—as the whole of France was later—to such scenes. There followed a general stampede as if the enemy had been in pursuit. "Even the archers and the

other officers of justice deserted their posts to seek refuge in the neighbouring houses, imploring whoever they met to save their lives and give them shelter."

This condemnation, which remains somewhat inexplicable in the horror it excited, occurred the year before the Cour-des-Aides was moved from Périgeux to Bordeaux, so that Montaigne, though not actually present at the scene, must have heard it freely enough discussed. The scandal did not hinder the condemnation to a like sentence, in the following year, of at least one heretic—the preacher Philip Hamelin. From time to time the Parlement deputed members to visit, too, the more distant places under its jurisdiction, or sometimes even single persons suspected of heresy—Jules César Scaliger receiving thus a domiciliary visit. The alarming proportions which heresy had assumed in the Saintonge, called in 1559 for the more elaborate remedy of "les grands jours," an assize which was distinguished, under the presidency of Roffignac, by great severity. And during the early years of Montaigne's office at Bordeaux the punishment of heretics continued, with alternating severity and leniency, according as the voice fell to tolerant or to bigoted members, according in some measure also to the pressure of public events in France.

Already in 1556 Henry II. had written to his Parlement at Bordeaux to urge a greater rigour against heretics. From the year 1559, matters assumed a graver aspect. The peace of Câteau Cambrêsis, while it left the kings of France and Spain free to turn their thoughts to the rooting out of heresy in their respective kingdoms, brought back at the same

time to France much turbulent hot blood, for which the foreign wars had served as safety-valve, to swell now the little head of peaceful reform.

The civil troubles date practically from this peace. Henry announced at once his home policy by the attack upon his Paris Parlement, which ended in the impeachment of so many notable members and in the burning, finally, of Anne du Bourg. His death in that same year left the kingdom to the rule of a minor, and to the regency of Catherine of Medicis, with the rival families of Guise and Bourbon contending for the place nearest to the throne. In close succession came the conspiracy of Amboise, where, round jealousy of the Guises, gathered all the national discontent—desire for reform, for freedom of religion, with, it was rumoured, an element of democratic scheming;—then the imprisonment of Condé, the apparent triumph of the Guises. The death of Francis II. gave another revolution to the wheel; there followed the release of Condé, the discomfiture of the Guises, the ascendancy for a time of l'Hôpital and a peaceful policy.

The brief interlude before the outbreak in grim earnest of the civil wars was occupied by the holding of assemblies and the attempt to enforce order by edicts, with the result, mainly, of giving the discordant elements time and opportunity to range themselves, and of exposing the weakness of the executive.

At the assembly of Fontainebleau (1560) Coligny spoke for the Protestants with a boldness that testified to his knowledge of forces at his back; at the États-Généraux of Orléans and Meaux, an amazing freedom was on all hands shown in laying bare abuses. But

the clear apprehension of abuses was unaccompanied by any adequate sense of a remedy or power to enforce one. The États-Généraux might be ready with suggestions, might be bold to retail grievances, but had no sanction or authority to enforce reform—so that, while they provided a legitimate voice to the general discontent, they did nothing towards obviating it. The attempt to smooth over the religious differences with the Colloquy of Poissy was still vainer, serving only to accentuate the cleft between Catholics and Protestants, and to reveal divergences among the Protestants themselves. Meanwhile the favour shown by Catherine to the reformers, her apparent inclination to their doctrine, aroused the fears of even the more moderate Catholics and detached the Connétable Montmorency from his ancient friendship with Coligny.

In this exasperated state of spirits, it was inevitable that the edicts, whether that of July (1561), repressing heresy, or that of January (1562), embodying the principles of a reasonable tolerance, should fail in their execution. The Protestants were already too strong, and too well organized, to submit to the severer law; the milder encountered a tacit resistance from the very bodies whose business it was to enforce it. The Parlement of Paris—strangely altered from the brave face it had shown to Henry II.—led the way in obstruction, declining, until roughly recalled to its duty by l'Hôpital, to register the January edict.

The provinces reflected, with local variations, the central current of events. At Bordeaux the Parlement had scandals and outrages to deal with, after the more passive offences. The registers record the

defacing of images in the churches, the defiling of holy water, insults offered to the Holy Sacrament, a cross destroyed in the public place,—things slight enough in themselves, but serving, in the disturbed state of the country, to set on edge all the alarm and irritation of the citizens.

A number of letters, written in 1560–1, demonstrate clearly enough the general disquiet. Sent, some by members of the Parlement to the Guises and to the king, some by the lieutenant-general, De Burie, and others by the governor, De Lansac, to the king and queen-mother, they vary, according to the writer, in the representation of the danger. But they are all agreed as to the alarm experienced. And if not in the town itself, there was ample cause for alarm in the news from the country round. As often as the fears of the Bordelais would spare him, De Burie went to now one, now another of the disaffected places. He visited thus Marmande, taking with him two magistrates,—of whom Raymond Eyquem de Montaigne, the Essayist's uncle, was one,—to assist him in doing justice. Thence it was that he wrote, in the January of 1561, that the forces at his command were wholly inadequate to restore order. In the autumn of that same year things reached at Marmande a climax, in an attack of the Huguenots upon the Franciscan monks. And just at this time the Parlement decided to report the disorders, as well to the king as to De Burie, sending the news to Paris by the medium of one of its members, "M. Michel Eyquem de Montaigne," "s'en allant à la cour pour d'autres affaires."

The veteran Blaise de Monluc had at this juncture rejoined the Court, which was at St Germain-en-Laye, after a brief visit to his home at Agen. He narrates in his *Commentaires* how, in the course of the five days that he was at the Court, there came news "that the Huguenots had risen at Marmande and had killed the monks of Saint Francis and burned the monastery; suddenly other news of the massacre which the Catholics had executed at Cahors upon the Huguenots, then that at Grenada near Toulouse. Then, afterwards, arrived the news of the death of Monsieur de Fumel, who was slaughtered very cruelly by his own dependants, who were Huguenots."

The massacre at Grenada near Toulouse was attended by circumstances of singular atrocity. De Burie gives the closer details in his report; and Montaigne had probably this incident in his mind when he made the comparison between his countrymen and the cannibals—to the advantage of the cannibals. But what, more than all the rest, touched the queen-mother, was, so Monluc informs us, the murder of De Fumel,—a rising, not merely of Huguenots against a Catholic, but of retainers against their lord.

It was this which determined her to send Monluc to Guyenne, and it was with vengeance upon De Fumel's murderers that he began a progress to be marked by the bodies of Huguenots left hanging on the trees. He was still dealing out his rough punishment—only not sullied by the deliberate cruelties of Des Adrets later among the Huguenots—, when the news that Condé had invested Orléans changed it into open warfare.

The mention of Michel Eyquem de Montaigne, opportunely travelling to the Court, in 1561, is one of the few allusions to him that have been traced in the judicial records. The rest are, for the most part, bare notices of absence. Montaigne would seem, indeed, to have been but a lukewarm magistrate. The duties were uncongenial to him, and he lost no opportunity of deserting them for visits to that capital which had always his affections.

Far remote from him was the pragmatical activity of such a magistrate as he describes, keeping in check his self-gratulation, after the unravelling of a tangle of trivial law, with the murmured "*Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam.*" It is more indicative of a real slackness,—'lithernesse,' as Florio has it,—in his character, that he should not have found an incentive to activity in the extra magisterial duties entailed by the religious and civil troubles.

There was still doubtless more than enough unravelling of ancient laws, and futile brain-splitting over minute and insignificant matters; but in only too many instances the court dealt with matters of life and death. And in a body of such divided constituents, any member must have been able to make his influence felt in favour of tolerance or of severity. Votes were at least counted, even if, as l'Hôpital complained later, the virtue of the voter was not weighed. The magistrates had moreover an extended duty. It fell to them to provide, in great measure, for the security of the town,—even, on more than one occasion, to patrol in person at the head of armed companies; while, under the vacillating policy

of the Valois, the Parlement acquired by its privilege of delaying the registration of an edict, as by its license in interpreting and applying it, a genuine legislative force.

Under such conditions, the office of magistrate, if it gave little opportunity for great distinction, yet provided at least a useful career in the public service. The complement to Montaigne as magistrate is given in his friend La Boetie. Montaigne might regret later that distance from the centre of action had prevented the full display of his friend's virtue, but within the measure of his opportunity La Boetie comes down to posterity as the model citizen and magistrate. More diligent and exact than was Montaigne in the fulfilment of the regular magisterial drudgery, he had won the confidence of the Parlement sufficiently to be entrusted with missions of a certain importance. In 1561 he was signalled out by De Burie to be his coadjutor in the delicate task of restoring order in the Agenais, where the Huguenots had passed all bounds. "Fort docte et homme de bien," as De Burie describes him, he acquitted himself with an admirable firmness in the interests of law and order. The memoranda which he wrote upon the working of the tolerant Edict of January have been unhappily lost; but there is evidence enough without them of his constant and wise preoccupation with his country's troubles. They engaged his thoughts even as they filled the mind of l'Hôpital; and as l'Hôpital died broken-hearted after the St Bartholomew, at the shipwreck of his country, so La Boetie died, at an earlier juncture, regretting the services

that, with more years, he might have rendered to the commonwealth.

Montaigne too is of opinion that the public service is the proper end of life and action. But, for himself, he had neither the constraining sense of duty nor the practical active impulse that persuade to the fulfilment of tedious and uncongenial work. The patient waiting upon opportunity that characterized his older and graver friend, was as remote from him as was the pettifogging activity of that other magistrate.

There can be no question but that he gave his voice, when called upon, in favour of tolerance and humanity. "When occasion has summoned me," he records, "to criminal sentences I have rather fallen short of justice....The ordinary judgement is whetted to punishment by horror of the misdeed; that same cools mine down; horror of the first murder makes me dread a second; and the hideousness of the first cruelty makes me abhor all imitation." Above all he has in detestation the barbarous ingenuity of torture. In an age when it was common enough for decapitation to be preceded by dismemberment, for criminals to be whipped first and hanged afterwards, for their tongues to be pierced or torn out by the executioner, Montaigne writes emphatically, "As for me, in justice itself, all that goes beyond simple death seems to me pure cruelty." The question by torture he condemns as well for its stupidity as its cruelty,—though here the psychologist in him searches out the little grain of reasonableness, in its working upon a guilty conscience.

But Montaigne's humanity, which leads him thus

to inveigh against the whole brutal judicial machinery of his age, was even more an effect of nature than of judgement. He carried his softness so far as to be unable to attend unmoved at the execution of the most righteous sentences—such attendance was customary among the Bordeaux magistrates; he could not, though a sportsman, endure the cry of a hare torn by his dogs, and he always restored their liberty to animals taken alive. This softness of nature, closely allied to the fastidiousness about smells and unpleasant sights, which surprises the modern reader of the *Essays*, would doubtless urge him rather to the avoidance of painful duties than to the endeavour—which must have been too often futile—to give the law a more lenient turn.

Nor was his tolerance reinforced by any active sympathy with the Protestants, who were the most frequent, though by no means the only, victims of the law's severity. He recognised, with all the sober section of the community, the need for reforming ecclesiastical abuses and for purging the church of its grosser superstitions. But all innovation that went beyond these aims at once outstripped his sympathy and appeared to him beside the mark. "Ceulx," he writes, "qui ont essayé de r'adviser les moeurs du monde, de mon temps, par nouvelles opinions, reforment les vices de l'apparence; ceulx de l'essence, ils les laissent là, s'ils ne les augmentent: et l'augmentation y est à craindre; on se sejourne volontiers de tout aultre bienfaire, sur ces reformations externes, arbitraires, de moindre coust et de plus grand merite; et satisfaict on à bon marché, par là, les aultres vices

naturels, consubstantiels et intestins." The virtues of the reformers were indeed as little congenial to him as their vices. Their strictness of moral—passing over into straitlacedness—made no appeal to his laxer temperament; their pedantry and assertiveness were the failings peculiarly obnoxious to him. The intolerance shown towards them did not blind him either to their own intolerant capacity, nor their common attack upon the established order to their internal discords and points of disagreement. If he thought it presumptuous to kill a man for his opinions, he was to the full as conscious of the arrogance involved in the subversion, for mere opinion's sake, of the public order. "Si me semble il, à le dire franchement, qu'il y a grand amour de soy et presumption, d'estimer ses opinions jusques là que, pour les establir, il faille renverser une paix publicque, et introduire tant de maulx inevitables, et une si horrible corruption de moeurs que les guerres civiles apportent, et les mutations d'estat en chose de tel poids, et les introduire en son païs propre."

CHAPTER V.

ACQUAINTANCE WITH COURT LIFE: FRIENDSHIP WITH LA BOETIE.

IN the very midst of a defence for his aloofness from affairs, Montaigne acknowledges that there were certain more congenial paths to public service and to personal advancement which, had fortune called him to them in his youth, he would have followed, spite of all his precepts. He does not specify more closely; yet it may fairly be assumed that it was with hopes, perhaps not definitely formulated, of a career more to his mind, that he absented himself so often from his magisterial duties, to haunt the Court at Paris. Fortune, however, did not offer him advancement, and his was not the nature to lay violent siege to her.

He found meanwhile undoubted consolation, and food for the lighter side of his nature, in the easy intercourse and gay life of that most voluptuous court of the Valois. This must have been the first of the three stages which the Essayist describes in his life, the period when something of uncertainty about

his revenue made him the more lavish in his expenditure, when he borrowed without scruple from his friends, though scrupulous always to repay. He participated freely then in the pleasures of youth, took pleasure in fine clothing and found that it became him, and pursued with zest the adventures of gallantry that were so much in vogue.

Montaigne dwells in his old age with a certain self-complacency upon his youthful sufficiency and success in love-making. But he affirms too that he passed his youth with a measure of orderliness, "*selon lui*," and we may add, undoubtedly, according to the standard of his times. And always he kept his judgement sane and disengaged. For even in this "the most licentious season of his life," through all his participation in the pleasures of youth, the Essayist's peculiar bias betrayed itself. He was not indeed melancholic, but "songe-creux," touched already, not to sadness, but to a certain freedom, by the irony of things. When his companions thought him drawn aside to digest a rebuff from his mistress, or to nurse his jealousy of a rival, he was in reality musing over the sudden death of a boon companion. The pomp of the court, the vanities and intrigues of the Parisian women, set him thinking on the poor ends and trivial springs of human action. Standing about, as the custom was, among the crowd of courtiers, while the king sat alone at meals, Montaigne rather pitied the monarch's isolation than envied his state. And the power of endurance of even his favourite Romans was cheapened by the recollection that a like endurance could be shown by

women, for the mere purpose of enhancing their beauty. Who at Paris had not heard of the lady who let herself be skinned to improve her complexion? "Et l'en surnommoit on Madame l'Escorchée."

Montaigne's acquaintance with the "agitation of courts" dates back, it would seem from references in the *Essays*, to the time of Henri II.; we know him to have been at Bar-le-duc, in 1559, with the Court of Francis II. But the visit—whether continuous or not—from the year 1561 to the year 1563, to the Court of Charles IX., has the deeper interest of coinciding with one of the most critical moments in that most critical period of French history. Bringing news of fresh disorders in Guyenne, to the Court, in the November of 1561, Montaigne must have reached St Germain-en-Laye shortly before the meeting of that assembly of deputies at which l'Hôpital laid down the principles of civil toleration, and where he succeeded in passing his tolerant 'Edict of January.' Montaigne had no official place in that assembly (the representatives for Bordeaux were Lagebaston, Arnaud de Ferron, Lescure) but he must have heard the pros and cons discussed, and he perhaps laid there the seeds of his respect for l'Hôpital. He would still be at Court at the time when the queen-mother's complacency towards the Protestants gave general uneasiness, when for a moment there seemed a possibility that France might become a Protestant country. There is evidence of his presence at Paris in that summer of 1562, for on June the 10th he obtained admission to the Paris Parlement, after taking the oath of orthodoxy then first exacted. He

was witness therefore at Paris of all the disorders occasioned by the exercise of 'reformed' ceremonies in the midst of a bigoted and fanatic populace. He witnessed, finally, the definite outbreak of the Civil Wars, must have seen the Duke of Guise enter Paris after the massacre of Vassy, and heard the reports, that rapidly reached the Court, of the investiture of Orléans by the Protestants under Condé: of the successes now of one, now of the other, party: of the battle, decisive for a breathing-space, at Dreux. He seems to have felt, as did indeed La Boetie, something of the popular enthusiasm for François de Guise; he brings his contribution in one of his first essays to the much-vexed question of the battle of Dreux. In the March of 1563 he followed the Court to Rouen, when that town was recaptured by the Catholics, and the young Charles IX. entered at the head of the besieging army. To this event there is, for once, a definite autobiographical reference in the *Essays*. Montaigne does not recount the grievous three days' sack to which the town was put. Nor does he touch on the death there of the king of Navarre. But he notes the comments made on the occasion by some so-called 'savages,' enticed from the New World to see the wonders of the Old.

In the summer of 1563, Montaigne was again at Bordeaux, and engaged in his magisterial duties. We know it from the date he himself gives, in the letter describing La Boetie's death. On Monday the 9th of August, 1563, he sent, upon leaving the Courts of Justice, to beg La Boetie to dine with him, and received in return the first news

of his friend's illness. This year, his thirtieth,—which he marks as the turn of his vigour—saw the close of that too brief intercourse with a mind 'cast,' as he describes it, "in the antique mould."

The friendship of La Boetie and Montaigne is the most famous friendship of a period when famous friendships, in imitation of antiquity, were a good deal in fashion. The two appear together in the contemporary biographies and, greatly as the fame of the younger has now outstripped that of the older friend, La Boetie's name remains an inseparable pendant to the Essayist's. It is a pendant which materially helps out our judgement of him. Of La Boetie we know at once much more and much less than of Montaigne. The thousand and one details that the Essayist gives of himself are lacking, but the self-revelation, so faithfully reported, of La Boetie's death-bed, outpasses these in emphasis and fulness. All that we know of him too is of a piece, and goes to show a character at once stronger and more simple, a character at the same time mellowed by a rare grace and sweetness.

Montaigne describes his friend's last illness and leave-takings. If we keep in mind that these last words are of a man barely entering on his thirty-third year, overtaken by a casual malady—it was a sort of dysentery, one of the sicknesses lumped together then as the pestilence—in the full vigour of his manhood, and scarce breathed for public life, we may well assent to Montaigne's claim that they witness to a mind "full of repose, assurance and tranquillity." Concealing from all save Montaigne—his "intime frère

et inviolable ami"—his sense of the fatal nature of his illness, La Boetie set his affairs in order with a quiet composure, and expressed, to his several friends and relatives, his last wishes and advice with the frankness authorized by the approach of death. He shows himself admirable in every relation of life; in the warmth of his gratitude to the uncle who had stood him in stead of a father, in his consideration for his wife—his 'semblance' as he called her, "for some ancient kinship that was between them—," in his discreet avoidance of all assumption of parental authority over Mlle d'Arsac, his step-daughter. Above all the tactful graciousness of the man appears in his advice to de Beauregard, the brother of the Essayist, who had joined the party of the Reformation. "Monsieur de Beauregard," he said to him, "I thank you greatly for the trouble you take for me. Would you wish me to discover to you something that I have on the mind to say to you? Whereupon when my brother" (Montaigne loquitur) "had given him the assurance, he pursued thus:—I give you my faith that, of all those who have applied themselves to the reformation of the Church, there is not one whom I have ever thought to have so applied himself with better zeal than you, or with an affection more entire, sincere and simple; and I believe surely that only the vices of our prelates, which have without doubt need of a great correcting, and sundry imperfections which the course of time has brought into our Church, have moved you to it. I do not want, at this time, to dissuade you from it; for neither do I willingly urge anybody to do whatsoever it may be against his

conscience; but I do want to warn you that you should have regard to the good repute which the house you come of has acquired by a continuous concord—a house that I hold as dear as any in the world (God, what a house, from which none have sprung save men of worth!)—that you should have regard to the will of your father, that good father to whom you owe so much, to your good uncle, to your brothers,—and should shun these extremes; do not be so harsh and violent; meet them half-way (accomodez vous a eulx), do not form band and body apart; make common cause together. You see what ruin these dissentions have brought into the kingdom; and I can answer for it they will bring much more and greater. And, as you are good and sober, beware of bringing these incommodities into your family, lest you should lose it the fame and happiness it has enjoyed up to now. Take what I have said in good part, M. de Beauregard, and as a sure testimony of the friendship I bear you; for to this end I have abstained from saying it, until this moment; and, peradventure, saying it to you in the state you see me in, you will attach more weight and authority to my words." "My brother," adds Montaigne, "thanked him very warmly."

The harder parting from life was reserved for Montaigne to witness. There were moments of physical weakness when it was the turn of the younger to sustain and cheer. The two friends faced here together the approach of death, for which they seem to have prepared, half speculatively, half stoically, in their intercourse. Montaigne, too moved to respond at once to La Boetie's direct address to

him and to his bequest of library and books to be "*μνημόσυνον sui sodalis*," himself forgot, later, all personal considerations in his concern for his friend's honour, in his desire that La Boetie's courage should endure without flagging through the last enterprise of a brave death.

In his friendship with La Boetie, Montaigne rises for once above the 'happy mean,' which serves him as everyday standard, and touches the high places of humanity. By La Boetie's bedside there is no more question of indulging the temper which 'shuns a melancholy complexion like the plague' and dreads 'the anguish of the sight of others' anguish.' "I am more unwilling," he tells us, "to visit the sick duty doth engage me unto, than those to whom I am little beholden and regard least"; but, when relating how La Boetie, "knowing his complexion, begged him to be with him only piecemeal, though as often as he could, and not continuously, because his illness was a little contagious and disagreeable and melancholy withal" —Montaigne adds with grave simplicity, "Je ne l'abandonnay plus." And it was to Montaigne that La Boetie looked for the last and nearest offices of affection, that he entrusted the consolation and fortifying of his wife; to Montaigne, that "had he felt fear, he would have looked to have it removed."

The strength latent under Montaigne's fastidious delicateness comes to the surface in this account, prefixed to La Boetie's 'literary remains,' of his friend's sickness and death—an account which betrays, in its grave fidelity of record, both self-restraint and self-forgetfulness; the essay which celebrates their

friendship breathes, through its sustained and simple eloquence, a romance and self-abandonment singularly impressive in their setting of common-sense sobriety. "We sought each other," he says, "before we had seen one another, and by the reports we heard the one of the other, which wrought a greater force in our affection, than the reason of the reports may well bear out; I think by some decree of heaven. We embraced each other by our names; and at our first meeting, which was by chance at a great feast and meeting of the town, we were so taken up, so at home and beholden between ourselves, that from thenceforward, nothing was so near unto us, as one unto the other.....It is I wot not what quintessence, of all this admixture," (of the several considerations and grounds of friendship) "which having seized all my will, induced the same to plunge and lose itself in his; which likewise having seized all his will, induced it to plunge and lose itself in mine, with a mutual greed, and with a like concurrence." And this miracle was worked in no mere enthusiastic boys, but in grown men and magistrates—La Boetie the senior by two and a half years. For which very reason, "having so short a time to continue and having begun so late," they dispensed with the preliminaries and cautious testing of the ground, good usually in friendship, and let this fervour of their first acquaintance solidify at once into a mutual confidence and trust—'passing the love of brothers.' By the name of brother they addressed one another, failing a term to embrace the full measure of their sentiment.

In this friendship alone, Montaigne, content to

admire and not to emulate the heroic virtue of the ancients, feels he has outstripped antiquity. "For even the discourses which antiquity hath left us on this subject, seem to me forceless in respect of the feeling I have of it; and, in this point, the real effects surpass even the precepts of philosophy.....For, truly, if I compare all the rest of my life.....unto the four years I so happily enjoyed the sweet company and society of that person, it is nought but a vapour, nought but a dark and irksome night."

The predisposition of spirit was helped, on Montaigne's side, by the reading of the *Servitude Volontaire*, or *Contr'un*, that youthful effort of rhetoric to which chance brought afterwards so singular a destiny, and, one is tempted to add, so exaggerated a fame. Read in the same impersonal spirit with which it was written—one must accept the statement of Montaigne—it is easily comprehensible that its noble sentiment, together with its literary qualities, should have secured the work a high place among the innumerable 'essays'—imitations for the most part, in verse or prose, of the ancients—which it was the fashion to pass from hand to hand. As a work of youthful rhetoric the *Contr'un* is full of promise; as an early endeavour to treat a sustained subject in pure and polished French, it is a contribution to literature. But it is not for a moment to be reckoned as a serious effort of thought. There is not the remotest inkling of the social or political laws, whose obscure recognition makes the contemporary Bodin so interesting a writer. The argument is of an infantine naïveté: the very sentiment remains

among the commonplaces of rhetoric. And there is, as critics have pointed out, an absolute lack of climax, of logical conclusion. In place of the rank anarchy to which the reasoning properly tends, there is substituted a weakly recommendation to monarchs to be humane,—while the French monarchy is specially exempted from all reproach. Without a question, the subjection of the many to the one was to La Boetie, as to Montaigne, only one of those paradoxes of the social order which—though an excellent occasion for the exercise of ingenuity—no more prevented the acceptance of that order, than the many paradoxes of nature prevented the frank acquiescence in her universal order. In abstract theory La Boetie preferred a republic to a monarchy, "would have sooner been born at Venice than at Sarlat," but "he had supremely impressed upon his soul another maxim—to obey and submit religiously to the laws under which he was born. Never was there a better citizen, nor one more affectioned to the tranquillity of his country, nor more opposed to the disturbances and innovations of his times; rather would he have employed his capacity to extinguish them, than to provide them with fresh fuel; he had a mind cut after the pattern of centuries other than the present."

The conclusion that La Boetie did not draw was drawn, however, for him by more seditious spirits. The *Contr'un*, written with such simplicity of good intention, was turned later into an instrument of party warfare. In the *Réveille-matin des François*, one of the earliest expressions of that fury of revolt roused

by the massacre of St Bartholomew, the *Contr'un* acquires an application pointed enough. It acquires too, a new eloquence. The dormant force of time-worn platitudes revived at that outrage upon the fundamental decencies of human intercourse. "But I protest indeed," so the anonymous writer—*Eusebe Philadelphe, cosmopolite*, by pseudonym—introduces the passage, "that I will not speak of it as the Huguenots speak, they are too mild and too servile; I will speak of it roundly like a genuine and native Frenchman, and as a man may speak of matters subject to his judgement, yea, to the common sense of all men; so that all our Catholics, our compatriots, and good neighbours, and all the remainder of the French that are treated worse than brute beasts, may be roused for once to recognize their wretchedness, and to take council all together how to remedy their misfortunes. To say sooth, my comrade, it is a strange thing...,"—and so full into the swing of the *Contr'un*.

This diversion to party purposes, though it has undoubtedly aided, by the adventitious fire and force which it lent to the treatise, La Boetie's literary renown, came very malapropos in the eyes of Montaigne, who was more concerned for his friend's repute as a citizen and subject. The untimely publication of the *Contr'un*, in the *Réveille-matin*, diverted him from his intention of printing it himself; he had already written his exordium, which puts so different a colour upon the matter,—"Oions un peu parler ce garson de dixhuict ans." The same fear that his friend would be misjudged, or perhaps that

his moderate views could serve no useful purpose in the aggravated state of the public evil, led him to suppress the report upon the Edict of January. In compensation, he gathered together, and published, every scrap of La Boetie's verse, whether French or Latin, that could be recovered, "sans choix et sans triage," together with his few prose translations, the *Mesnagerie* of Xenophon, the *Regles de Mariage* of Plutarch.

La Boetie had added, as Montaigne tells us, to his natural parts by skill and industry; and he was, as a fact, a man of general culture, according to the best culture of the day. His philological knowledge, if not profound, was at least accurate and solid. He had shared with the elder magistrate, Arnaud de Ferron, the task of translating into Latin the Ἐρωτικός of Plutarch, and his notes and emendations are said to show a genuine, if not brilliant, scholarship. His French translations bear a like stamp of sober scholarship, and, though without the verve and force that makes translation, in the hands of Amyot, itself creative, they are on a sustained level of ease and elegance. His verses again, if they barely entitle him to the name of poet, if Montaigne let his affection for once mislead his judgement in the high rank he assigns to them, are at least of a merit far above the mass of occasional verses which the world then took so seriously. And — supreme virtue in that age, admirable trait in the eyes of Montaigne,—those creditable verses and scholarly translations were neither written with solemnity, nor preserved with care. "So fast as each sally came into his head, he

discharged it," Montaigne relates, "upon the first paper that came to hand, without farther care for its preservation,"—with the consequence that a number of his earlier verses were irretrievably lost. And so far from aiming at publicity, there was nothing of his "that he would have hoped to bring to light, nor that he even thought worthy of bearing his name in public." It was due only to his early decease, and to Montaigne's pious care, that his purely literary works were printed; while his contributions to scholarship were merged in a translation whose credit went to De Ferron.

But yet La Boetie's scholarship and his poetic turn, for all that he subordinated both to the public life which he esteemed his proper end, brought him into relations with the contemporary world of letters;—with the learned republic, over which Jules-César Scaliger presided, on the one hand; with the new school of poets, which looked to Ronsard as its prophet, on the other. Made known to Jules-César by a mutual friend, we find him exchanging verses with the autocrat, dexterously passing off an exaggerated compliment. With the Pleiad he was connected through friendship with Baïf, and whether he had or not a personal acquaintance with Ronsard, he partook at least of the full enthusiasm for the master. Staid mentor as he could show himself on occasion to Montaigne, he defends the love-poems of Ronsard—for all their looseness—against the puritan scruples of a fellow-magistrate, who would have had the poet use his gifts rather in the service of the Faith.

In his literary, as in his magisterial activity, La Boetie is a complementary figure to Montaigne. Sharing in the best culture of the day, but not in the least imbued with the current pedantry, he is an admirable product of the literary revival. Montaigne, as free from pedantry, rejected, with the bad, also the good in contemporary discipline. His knowledge of the classics has no scholarly flavour. Greek, which called for his maturer effort, he was content never to command: Latin, made by external care into his mother-tongue, was never more to him than a medium for reaching the contents of the Roman authors. Even his love of those authors was nourished by no diligent study, but by truant reading in his school-days, in after life by the desultory turning over of his books. So far he was amenable to current usage as to have tried his hand at Latin verses—never it seems at French—; but he abandoned the attempt in disgust at a trick of easy imitativeness, which the critics of the day would have rather found a virtue. And in consequence, partly, of this indifference to philological research, so frequent an occasion then of epistolary intercourse, and of this critical standard for even occasional verse, Montaigne had—so far as can be traced—no place at all in that republic of letters which gave La Boetie a cordial welcome. In his old age, after his essays had constrained recognition by their popularity, Lipsius might hail him in hyperbolic praise as the "eighth sage," the 'Thalès of France'; but when the *Essays* first appeared, the scholars seem to have noticed them only to point out inaccuracies in names or in citations.

His good friend, Pasquier, who writes so warmly of him after his death, was free enough to criticise the Gasconisms in the *Essays* when he met their author so late even as the Etats de Blois of 1588, and in all his voluminous correspondence on the topics, literary and other, of the day, he never once addresses himself to Montaigne. The letters of the younger Scaliger come very near him, embracing so small a philologist as his now-forgotten brother-in-law, the Geoffrey de la Chassaigne who had translated Seneca. But the *Essays* were outside the great scholar's range, and Scaliger could dismiss Montaigne contemptuously, as an "hardi ignorant."

What intercourse Montaigne, until his old age, had with scholars or men of letters—the genuses were not then sharply differentiated—seems to have been accidental and in other than their literary character. With *Pasquier*, his acquaintance would be primarily with the magistrate. *Amyot*, he knew while following with the court to Rouen; *Buchanan* had been his teacher; *Jacques Péletier*, who stayed with him, was brought to Bordeaux, and probably into relations with Montaigne, as school-master and not as author. He was acquainted with *Turnebus*, and appreciated him. But the ground of their intercourse lay in the latter's power of setting aside his learning, and proving himself as shrewd a judge in practical matters as on points of scholarship. "Il y veoyoit si clair, d'une apprehension si prompte, d'un jugement si sain, qu'il sembloit qu'il n'eust jamais faict aultre mestier que la guerre et affaires d'estat."

"Je suis moins faiseur de livres, que de nulle autre besongne," asserts the Essayist of himself. It seems at least indisputable, that, throughout this earlier part of his career, he was of any profession rather than the literary, and, in the eyes of his contemporaries, without the pretensions even of an amateur.

CHAPTER VI.

YEARS (1563—1571) FROM LA BOETIE'S DEATH TO RETIREMENT.

THERE is, throughout the *Essays*, a recurrent deeper strain which testifies to the influence of La Boetie upon the Essayist, to something in the Essayist which could respond to La Boetie's graver temperament. His meditations in particular upon death, although from youth he had been prone to them, and although his resolve to divest that universal enemy of the strangeness, which is half its terror, was one very proper to his humour, took on, from the recollection, we may well suppose, of La Boetie's brave end, an heroic tone that rises in several passages to eloquence. And the memory of his friend remained with Montaigne all his life, making other friendships seem little worth, casting him twenty years after into 'very painful revery.'

Yet it is characteristic, if of all poor human nature, more particularly of Montaigne's proper temperament—better at a heat than in endurance,

impatient of all restraint and check,—that the immediate consolation which he sought was not in philosophic precept, but in diversion of the mind. It would seem that so too, by diverting her mind, he fulfilled his trust of consoling La Boetie's widow, after trying first, without success, the ordinary arguments of comfort. For himself, he changed the colour of his emotions by falling in love. He does not state with whom, but, if he was true to his views on the inappropriateness of love in marriage, it was not with the lady he shortly after wedded. Whether with or without love, marriage, with its ties and obligations, was wholly alien to his natural humour. "Of my own free motion," he avers, "I would not have married Wisdom herself, had she wanted me." But in this, as generally in the conduct of life, he let himself be guided by custom and the common humour. In 1565—his thirty-third year—he married Françoise de la Chassaigne, the daughter of a fellow-magistrate.

Montaigne speaks little, in the *Essays*, of his wife. His views upon matrimony are prosaic, his opinion of 'the sex' a poor one. Nevertheless, he would seem, in this as in other matters, to have been better in his practice of life than in his theory. His very unreadiness to marry must be attributed in part to his love of honest dealing, that would not permit him to marry "sans espouser," that made him regard the step more seriously than most of his contemporaries. He was, as a fact, more faithful in his married life "than he had either promised or hoped"; he was certainly, —if his warm letter to his wife after their first child's death, if his instinctive care for her comfort, if, finally,

his widow's pious regard for his memory, may be taken as evidence,—a kind and considerate husband. Françoise de la Chassaigne was, for her part, an excellent wife. She was not apparently a woman of intellectual power. There is no evidence that she took any interest in the *Essays*. But when her husband left home for an absence of nearly two years, he found his property and household, owing to her care, in admirable order,—and, even when he was present in person, there is little doubt that her practical energies supplemented to good effect his laxer supervision.

Mademoiselle de Montaigne, as custom entitled her, belonged to one of the oldest magisterial families in Bordeaux. It was her grandfather, Geoffrey de la Chassaigne, who had been so unhappily implicated in the revolt of 1548; and whose re-instalment in a presidency could be opposed upon the ground of the great number of his relatives in the Parlement. By his marriage Montaigne was thus more than ever linked with the Bordeaux magistracy. He does not, for that, seem to have attended any the more diligently to his duties. For seven years after La Boetie's death he remained a magistrate, but, while his presence or absence is occasionally noted, the only record of his activity is the incidental mention of him, already quoted, in the affair between Descars and Lagebaston, which took place in the autumn following La Boetie's death.

The events of those seven years were stirring enough. There was indeed, from the close of the 'first troubles' by the peace of Amboise, in 1563, to

the outbreak of the 'second' in 1567, a suspense of actual civil war. But there was no pause given to local quarrels and reprisals. The Catholics were exasperated by the sight of demolished images, of churches and convents razed or turned to other uses, by the arrogance, too, of the reformers in all places where they had acquired ascendancy. The Protestants, on their part, were more harassed by the peace than by the war. The Catholic party still attacked and persecuted them. At Bordeaux there was a veritable cabal, led and instigated by the great family of De Foix, and in which "la plûpart des grands"—Descars among the number—were said to be implicated. Troops were levied and, under pretext that the edicts were infringed, and that several Catholics had been treacherously slaughtered, a species of war was declared against the Protestants. The mischief was checked at the outset by a timely warning, given to the king by the premier president, Lagebaston, who was aware perhaps of some special enmity to himself covered by this design.

Montaigne, though a friend of Descars, and united in friendship with the noble family of De Foix, was far too much 'enemy to all cabal' to have viewed these designs with any favour. Nor was his the spirit to have been persuaded or intimidated from the exercise of an equal justice. But the extent to which many of his fellow magistrates were at this time moved by considerations either of fear or favour, appears from the speech—the reprimand—which l'Hôpital addressed in the following year (1565) to the Parlement. "You are timid too and fearful," he

admonishes them, after rebuking their factiousness and the liberties they take in interpreting the edicts, "for when I asked why such and such things were not done, I was answered—and not by one amongst you, but by five or six—we dared not do them. And who is there could do violence to you, and the king not shelter you? Why should the king's lieutenants be feared, or the powerful nobles of the district?"

The occasion of this address was the visit of the young king, the queen-mother and the Court, to Bordeaux in the course of the royal progress of the year 1554—5, undertaken for the purpose of at once inspecting and pacifying the kingdom. They were received at Bordeaux with particular pomp, a procession of masques, representing all known nations— the cannibals, of course, among them,—doing homage to the king. A petition from the Protestants, which the king had received with favour in the previous year, but which the Parlement had declined to ratify, was now, in compliment to the king, admitted,— though with a change, calculated to diminish its authority, in the usual forms.

From Bordeaux the Court passed to Bayonne, where, amid revelling and feasting, the queen-mother listened to Ronsard's flattering tale of the country after her passage:

"Morts sont ces mots, Papaux et Huguenots!
Le prestre vit en tranquille repos,
Le vieil soldat se tient a son mesnage,
L'artisan chante en faisant son ouvrage,
Les marchez sont frequentez des marchands,
Les laboureurs sans peur sement les champs,

Le pasteur saute auprès d'une fontaine,
Le marrinier par la mer se promeine
Sans craindre rien: car par terre et par mer
Vous avez peu toute chose calmer."

And at the same time she planned, so it was said, with the duc d'Albe a general extermination of heretics, which d'Albe sought at once to realize in the Netherlands, but for which Catherine found no fitting opportunity until the St Bartholomew, seven years later.

Meanwhile the Protestant forces were recuperated and their patience was exhausted. In 1567 the 'second troubles' began, to be followed, with so brief interludes and so vain semblances of intervening peace, by the 'third' and 'fourth,' as to form practically a continuous civil war. Montaigne himself, narrating an incident that went near to costing him his life, cannot remember if it took place in the second troubles or the third. The incident, told to show the easy approaches of death, illustrates too the extreme disorder of the country. He was close to his home, having ridden out ill-mounted and slightly attended, with but little thought of danger, when, in some sudden skirmish, the "little man on the little horse" was overthrown, not by an assailant, but through the awkward zeal of one of his own servants on a heavy and unruly charger. He was picked up insensible and carried home—to the family château, presumably, whether he was already or not the owner.

The château of Montaigne was indeed at this time more than ever in the very thick of the fighting.

Bergerac, the nearest town, served for centre whence the local hero on the Protestant side, Clermond de Piles, ravaged the Périgord, in revenge for the previous discomfiture of De Mouvans in that same locality. At the same time detachments of Monluc's infantry were at Sainte Foy and Libourne; the royalist troops under Montpensier had made Périgueux their head-quarters. The Saintonge, after sustaining one of Monluc's campaigns, became subject to De Piles;—its stronghold, La Rochelle, remaining to the end the great Protestant fortress. The battle of Jarnac (1569) which, with the death of Condé, turned again the current of events, was fought in Montaigne's near neighbourhood,—as, twenty years later, that of Coutras. And although Bordeaux itself enjoyed a singular immunity from protestant attack, Blaye on the Garonne, which served it in a manner as a port, was taken by the Huguenot Pardaillan, and sundry of the Bordeaux magistrates,—La Chassaigne, Montaigne's father-in-law among the number,—were captured and held there in hostage. The terror into which this seizure of Blaye cast the Parlement is reported by Monluc, to whom they sent for protection, and who, in return, exhorted all able-bodied magistrates to arm and prepare to defend the town.

The lively interest with which Montaigne followed the events—both main and local—of this time, is reflected in the *Essays*. A number of his illustrations are taken from these second, third and fourth troubles. The death of the aged Montmorency, at the battle of St Denis in 1567, was, with the conduct of La Noue,

the "most notable matter" of his day. The taking of Mussidan, and the massacre, contrary to engagement, of the garrison, is the occasion of the essay *L'Heure des parlements, dangereuse.* The dilemma of the Protestants, who, having claimed their success at La Rocheabeille as evidence of the divine favour, were reduced, after Moncontour and Jarnac, to fall back on the notion of fatherly chastisement, aptly illustrates the thesis *Qu'il fault sobrement se mesler de juger des ordonnances divines.* The error of the royalists after Moncontour opens the essay *De l'incertitude de nostre jugement.*

Still a magistrate, Montaigne could scarcely have taken any active part in the hostilities, save in such incidental self-defence as the disorders rendered necessary, and perhaps in that preparation for attack which Monluc enjoined upon the Parlement. Such activity as we can trace was of a different kind. Private affairs, in the first place, occupied him. In the June of 1568, during the 'petite paix' which, as Monluc says aptly, was a truce rather than a peace, his father died, leaving him, as eldest son, heir to the property of Montaigne and head of a numerous family. The settlement and division of a large property among the several children must have entailed formalities enough. A deed of August 2nd, 1568, shows the younger sons formally renouncing all claims upon the family estate proper, and receiving in exchange their several smaller properties—Beauregard, La Brousse, and some possessions in the Isle of Macau. Three of the children, two daughters and the son who was afterwards invested with the name

and estate of Mattecoulon, were so young—the boy indeed but eight—as to be left in ward to Michel, jointly with his mother, uncle, and brother next in age. His mother—who lived to an extreme old age, and survived him—retained too the right of residence at the family château, while renouncing all share in its control and management.

Montaigne was thus, although as yet without children of his own, already provided with a family and its attendant cares. He busied himself, too, in executing a last wish of his father's, which brought him for the first time, and in a manner singular enough, upon the field of literature. Pierre Eyquem had received many years previously, "at a time when the heresies of Luther were only beginning to spread" in France, the present of a little work, part theological, part metaphysical—the *Theologia Naturalis* of Remond Sebond. This work, given to him, after a visit, by the famous Latinist Pierre Bunel of Toulouse, was in a Latin so mixed with Spanish and Italian terminations that the donor thought his host's acquaintance with those languages would enable him to read it, even if his Latin failed. But whether Pierre Eyquem had never deciphered the work, or whether, having read it, he wished to re-read it with more ease, so it was that, chancing upon the book "some few days before his death," he begged his son Michel to put it for him into French. Montaigne "could refuse nothing to the best father that ever was," and though the task was "one strange to him," he executed it—if his account is to be accepted literally—with a quite remarkable speed. For his

father, who made the request "only a few days before his death," was yet able to read and approve and ordain that the translation should be published. It was printed, accordingly, the following year in Paris.

If the task of translating was one strange to Montaigne, far stranger was the chance that selected this *Theologia Naturalis* to make his literary début,—as indeed it is strange enough that the work should have been ever thought, as was the case, a possible weapon against the encroaching Lutheranism. A sort of abstract, it appears, of St Thomas Aquinas—one of a not uncommon kind of theological summary—the *Theologia Naturalis* is intended, not at all as a substitute for revealed religion, but to be complementary to it, as the book of nature is complementary to the book of Holy Scripture. The argument is largely metaphysical, plays with the terms *being* and *non-being*, discusses the several kinds of *causes*, deduces *unity* of creator from *unity* of order, and brings indeed into a narrow compass, and in close company with the most puerile fancies, a number of the eternal metaphysical concepts.

But "les belles imaginations" of Remond Sebond, and his argument, with its pell-mell of metaphysical notions, from the order of nature to the whole divine order of the universe, are far enough from that hold upon reality which makes the metaphysical systems of the great masters—of Spinoza or of Leibniz—into vast imaginative stretches of actual science. And—what for our purpose is of more note,—the conception which he draws from, or rather perhaps fits on to, nature, is one which is of all conceptions the most

opposed to Montaigne's habits of mind and thought. Remond Sebond conceives nature as an ordered hierarchy,—visible nature as composed of four steps, four orders, of which man, by virtue of his free-will, is the chief. With man diversity (which is to be found, though in lessening degree, within each of the three lower orders), wholly ceases; all things in the world are made for the commodity of man; "Nature humaine vaut beaucoup";—it was surely a singular irony that set Montaigne, the depreciator par excellence of humanity, whose humour was to note incessantly the vanity of events and the diversity of motive in human action, that set him to translate a system of which these are some of the essential postulates.

It is little matter for surprise if, in the *Apology*, which, rather than the translation, has kept alive the name of Remond Sebond, Montaigne has the air of revenging himself for a by-gone tedium, by wholesale destruction of his own client's arguments. Yet there is probably little, if any, spice of malice. Remond Sebond having served the occasion, Montaigne pursues in the *Apology* his own natural course, with even more than wonted freedom of rein, and is rather entirely disregardful of Remond's fate than bent wilfully on overturning him. His ostensible conclusion is, after all, the same. The book of nature may be read in many ways, and to those who bring already faith to the reading, one way leads as well as another to the dogmas of the church. Remond Sebond could deduce the authority of the pope, and the existence of God, from the ordered hierarchy he saw in nature, and

from the supremacy of man; Montaigne's light inconsequence—as later Pascal's fervour—could find an argument for faith, in the incompetence of reason, in the rudderless tossing of humanity, in the trackless diversity of nature.

With whatever mental commentary or reserve of judgement he accompanied it, Montaigne executed his task with abundant gravity. He prefixed to the translation a dedicatory letter to his father, dating it, not from when he wrote it, but from the actual day (June 18, 1568) of his father's death. More careful to express his sentiment of filial piety than to avoid discrepancy of statement, he ignores, while thus dating, the opening of the letter, "Suyvant la charge que vous me donnastes l'annee passee..." Nor do the time and place of dating—from Paris—coincide, for Montaigne was surely not in Paris at the actual time of his father's death. He may very well have been there when the translation actually appeared—at the beginning of the following year,—though he did not see it through the press to the satisfactory elimination of errors.

He was there certainly a year and a half later, when, having carried out his father's last wishes, having disembarrassed himself too of the magistracy, he attended to the publication of La Boetie's poems and translations. With this purpose in hand, Montaigne was in Paris for several months, perhaps for the whole autumn and winter of 1570–1. The stay would seem to have been somewhat of a fixing-point in his career. He had inherited his property in 1568; had quitted the magistracy by the summer of 1570,

when his successor, Florimond de Remond, was appointed. But the tablet which marks his retirement to his château, and to the arms of the Muses, dates only from 1571. It thus commemorates more probably a 'psychological moment' than an actual event; and the brief intervening visit to the capital may be taken as finally changing his youthful readiness for more congenial public service, into the definite backwardness of his later years.

Montaigne, reviewing, half ironically, his capabilities for the public service, declares himself cut out only for the part of 'candid servant' to his prince. The part was one he could have had no thought of acting to Charles IX.,—"nostre pauvre feu roi," as he alludes to him later. And the times, at this particular juncture, were singularly unpropitious,—offering less and less scope to moderate men. Henri de Mesmes was negotiating a peace, it is true, in this very year, but it required no great political insight to see that this peace—'boiteuse et malassise'—would be of no long endurance. The State—as Montaigne writes to his wife—was not yet done with the troubles brought by innovation, and he declares that he himself renounces in everything the side of novelty. All the signs pointed to further aggravation of the disorders. The Guises were in the height of favour; the Protestants too powerful to submit quietly to the strong hand. L'Hôpital was already in retirement, without a vestige of political influence.

And yet it is to l'Hôpital that Montaigne addresses La Boetie's Latin verses; and this, not in virtue of the author's respect alone, but also of his

own (Montaigne's) admiration for the great qualities of that upright statesman. "Moreover, Monsieur," he writes at the close of a long letter, "to kill two birds with one stone, this little gift may serve also, by your leave, to bear witness to the respect and reverence I have for your capacity, and for the notable qualities that are native to you. For as to the accidental and foreign, it is not my habit to take them in account." This letter to l'Hôpital expressive of respect, together with that to his wife declaring against innovation, show clearly Montaigne's political sympathies. He must be reckoned among those moderate men who, while faithful to the established order and religion, were yet disposed to tolerance, and deeply averse to civil war. Only later, when legitimacy and liberality met in the person of Henry IV., and only after long habit had confirmed the Essayist in his aloofness from public affairs, were these so-called 'politiques' to acquire political influence. At the present time, though the term 'politique' was already used to cast opprobrium upon the lukewarm adherents of either side, there was no possible leader, or centre of action, to bind these neutrals into a third party.

It must be borne in mind how essentially this civil warfare was a party conflict. Never in France was there, as later in the English civil wars, that clear-cut strife between the 'public reason of a parliament' and the caprices of a king. The *États-Généraux* were called indeed more than once in the course of the long struggle, but only as an extreme remedy and to be, (so far as not wholly futile), an

instrument in the hands of the party strongest at the moment. The contention was between rival religions in part, far more seriously between rival claimants for political power. When the drama concentrated in the personages of the younger Guise and of Henry of Navarre, the finally imposing representatives of their rival families, Montaigne, who played some undefined part in negotiating between the two, perfectly recognised that, with the one as with the other, religion was a mere word of party. Nor was it much more than weakness, that made tolerance and religious freedom the watchword of the Protestants. There were instances in the course of the disorders, where the Protestants, locally dominant, put down the worship and closed the churches of their erewhile oppressors. And the ministers, discussing terms of peace, were careful,—in their anxiety, partly, to be uncompromised, but partly also in their real abhorrence of the bolder flights of unfettered thought,—to mark the exact limits where tolerance should cease. Atheists, anabaptists, were to receive no quarter; and, but for internal disagreements of the party, the Confession of Augsburg would have been made as rigidly confining for the Protestants as, for the Catholics, the decisions of the church.

Only by a small minority, of whom l'Hôpital is the central figure, were the principles of a reasonable tolerance and religious freedom in any measure apprehended. And with these principles at heart, with the care, not for the interests of either party, but for the administration throughout the country of an equal justice and for the general welfare of the people,

l'Hôpital himself had no better policy than to balance one side against the other, and to guide the fears and jealousies of the queen-mother into the safety of an enlightened middle course.

With l'Hôpital's decline, all hope of such a *via media* had fallen utterly away, and it is difficult to see how even the more strenuous La Boetie, had he lived, could, at this juncture, have found his opportunity of serving his unhappy country. Remembering that, in their dread, not so much perhaps of personal consequences, as of the total ruin and subversion of the monarchy, such men as Christophe de Thou, and Guy du Faur de Pibrac, were led presently to condone and defend the St Bartholomew, one is fain to vote the Essayist's the more opportune and happier temper. Even while still ready to engage, if called upon, in public affairs, he was so little eager, as to preserve always an unpledged judgement; while his lack of eagerness was soon to become a reasoned and deliberate backwardness.

The policy to which Montaigne inclined was certainly the tolerance of two religions in the state. But he held even this opinion with an unwillingness to "prophesy until after the event" rather than with an operative confidence. And it is not so much his positive principles that make him a 'politique' as sheer inability to choose between the contending parties. Between Caesar and Pompey he felt he could have chosen, and later he had no hesitation between the League and Henry IV. In the meanwhile, his very inability to choose threw him back, ostensibly, upon that party which, being his already

by external circumstances, involved the lesser choice. To all outward seeming and effect, he was thus an adherent of the Catholic and loyal party. But he was an adherent whose affections were disengaged, and whose judgement was not blinded to the defects of his own, nor to the merits of the opposing, side.

Just so far did his judgement reinforce in him the tenets imposed by custom and the existing laws, as to convince him of the evil, for the time at least, of change and innovation. His most characteristic utterance upon the subject is in the Essay *On Presumption*. "And yet, to my mind, in public affairs, there is no bent so mischievous (if that age and constancy be joined unto it) that is not better than change and agitation (remuement). Our manners are exceedingly corrupt, and lean with a marvellous incline towards worse and worse. Of our laws and usages, many are barbarous and monstrous; notwithstanding, by reason of the difficulty in reducing us to a better estate and the danger of this shaking down (crollement), if I could set a peg in our wheel and stay it where it now is, I would do so gladly..... Instability is the worst that I find in our state, and that our laws, no more than our garments, can take no settled form."

CHAPTER VII.

1571—1580. MONTAIGNE IN RETIREMENT. THE LIBRARY.

To his contemporaries, Montaigne's abandonment of the magistracy appeared not so much a retirement as an exchange of the 'robe longue' for the sword. The natural occupation for a country gentleman of leisure—and as such Montaigne was certainly accepted, for all his commercial origin—was, in those disordered times, to take up arms for the one side or the other. And we find, as a fact, that his withdrawal from active life did not wholly preclude such exercise. At the very outset of his retirement, he was invested with the military order of St Michael,—an honour which would intimate that he had shown some readiness for service. That order, in its earlier dignity bestowed, as the Essayist affirms, for generalship rather than for mere display of valour, could not, even in the degradation it had sustained through the supposed exigencies of the civil wars, have been given, as Brantôme ill-naturedly hints, in simple jest. Since not for past services, it must have been given in hope at least of services to come, and perhaps to

secure for the king's side a partisan whose dislike of extreme measures, and outspoken respect for the qualities of his opponents, may well have roused suspicion in minds not subject to such refinements. Owner of a considerable property in the most disaffected quarter of the country, Montaigne must have seemed an adherent worth securing. And it is clear, from allusions in the *Essays*, that in his private capacity he did actually bear arms. If of no great military enterprise, he could boast, at least, a cool head and confident bearing, that helped him once to the orderly conduct of a retreat.

There is outside evidence for his participation in the campaign of 1574. In the May of that critical year,—when Charles IX. lay at the point of death, with the country still under the exasperation of feeling that followed on the St Bartholomew—, the royalist general, Montpensier, sent a message from his camp in Poitou to the Bordeaux Parlement. The bearer of this message was Michel de Montaigne, once 'conseiller' in the said Parlement, and permitted by virtue of his former office to deliver his message before the court. Neither the object of his mission, nor the 'long speech' in which he clothed it, has been recorded, but it is reasonably conjectured to have had reference to the threatened dangers from the Protestants and their English allies. The transit of the country at this time must have been not without danger, the direct road lying by several of the protestant strongholds; and it may have been now that Montaigne had the company of the timorous gentleman, whose fears betrayed him.

At what, if at any, other time Montaigne was personally engaged, it is impossible to say. But it does not need the unkind testimony of Brantôme to convince the reader of the *Essays* that his services in this kind were not extensive.

Not only was his adhesion to the party the mere lukewarm compliance with custom, but the conduct besides of the warfare was not such as to engage deeply a partisan pricked neither by personal greed nor by fanaticism. Montaigne will allow, whether in irony or in mere hopelessness of a better issue, that massacre and treason may be necessary in these evil times; but he demands, with a fine enough disdain, that other agents shall be found to execute them. And the incidents of breach of faith, of wholesale slaughter,—not of garrisons merely but of the women too and children,—are too frequent in the detailed contemporary histories for the justice of his reproach to be called in question. The general colour of the religious wars tones only too well with the central scene.

Avoiding singularity, conforming his outward actions to the order of what was customary, Montaigne holds himself free to set the older customs, as he understands them, of good-faith and honesty, above the current mode of time-serving and intrigue. "Vivons," he had said to his wife, in a lesser matter, "à la vieille française," and of this 'ancient French,' he shared the current view, a view which, even for the antiquaries—for Hotman, Pithou, or Pasquier,—fused all antiquity, French or Roman, into one ideal state of primitive virtue.

A copy has survived of Beuther's *Éphémérides*,—a sort of Whitaker's Almanack,—in which the Essayist, as well as some other members of his family, had entered events of interest. Three entries, besides the sparse notices of family births, deaths and marriages, find a place in the years between his retirement (1571) and the first appearance of the *Essays* (1580). These are: *October* 28, 1571, the bestowal of the order of St Michael: *May* 11, 1574, the honourable reception afforded him, on the occasion already mentioned, by the Bordeaux Parlement: *November* 29, 1577, the unsolicited, perhaps unwelcome, honour paid him by the king, Henry, of Navarre, who made him at this time Gentleman of the Chamber. (He was already, be it noted, Gentleman of the Chamber to the king of France.) The entry runs thus: "1577, Henry de Bourbon roy de Navarre sans mon sceu et moi absant me fit depecher a Leitoure lettres patantes de gentillhome de sa châbre."

Events had not stood still, during these years, however slight Montaigne's own part in them. The general scene remained the Civil Wars, but with a great shifting of the personages. The massacre of St Bartholomew took place in the year (1572) following his retreat, reaching Bordeaux last among the chief towns and affecting it least, though cruelly enough. Two years again later, in 1574—the year that we positively know him to have been engaged,—the crown passed from Charles IX. to the king of ill-grounded hopes, his brother Henry. The immediate errors of that monarch, in judgement and in government, drove many of the moderate Catholics, with

the duc d'Alençon, to favour the reformers. Of more vital help to the Protestant party was the escape, from the Court, of Henry of Navarre, and his appearance as their leader. From that moment to the final close, the Béarnais is the central figure of the drama.

At the time he made the overture, if such it was, to Montaigne, he was already recognised—by his opponents at any rate, his own side having long a lurking preference for Condé's sterner qualities—as the real strength of the Protestants. To meet his dangerous facility, the Guises had framed a counter-weapon from the fanaticism of the nation,—had instituted the League. Already in the previous year (1576) they had evoked from the États held at Blois the unequivocal demand for a single tolerated faith. Henry III. nevertheless, tired of the warfare and fretted at the Guises' arrogance, had negotiated with his cousin of Navarre, to the result of the peace, in October 1577, of Poitiers. It was in the second month of this peace that Navarre made Montaigne a gentleman of his chamber. Then and during a great part of the preliminary negotiations, Navarre was quartered at Bergerac, Montaigne's nearest town (Bordeaux refused, at this as at other junctures, to receive him); the duc de Montpensier, under whom as we saw Montaigne had served, was one of the chief agents of negotiation. It is possible that the Essayist himself played some obscure part in the negotiating; he must almost certainly have come into personal relations with Navarre.

Nurtured, as Montaigne would have his imaginary pupil, upon the *Lives* of Plutarch, (*Macchiavelli* was

the text book of the Valois), simple and open in bearing, and embracing his fortunes with a straightforward gaiety that covered no small astuteness, the Béarnais was a prince after Montaigne's own mind. How frank his liking, appears from letters that passed between them later, when the cause of the Béarnais became the cause of loyal subjects. In the meanwhile, his affection, if it added a point to his neutrality, did not move him from the party that upheld the ancient religion and laws,—the party, for him, of the lesser choice.

These indications of the Essayist's outside relations are slight enough, but they serve to show him no hermit in his retreat. He was the head too of a numerous family,—had mother, sisters and brother living with him, as well as wife and one little daughter. And during those ten years from 1570—1580, four children were born to him and died in infancy,—their premature death awakening in him certainly no deep abiding sorrow, yet occupying his mind presumably with passing regrets and moving him to try and console his wife. He did not take much part in the training of the surviving daughter, yet so far concerned himself as to veto the then customary rod, finding his views well seconded by his wife's native gentleness. Nor can it be doubted that the care of his property, with its woods and vineyards, engaged him to some degree. Though without the taste or the genius of his father for domestic economy, he nevertheless made it a point of honour and of filial piety to keep the property from decline. And however well his wife, his mother, or a steward, may have

seconded him, his success in this respect proves him to have been himself not wholly careless. We must suppose him, for all the statements that imply a greater negligence, to have followed at the outset that middle course, which he himself commends, "entre ce bas et vil soing, tendu et plein de solicitude...et cette profonde et extreme nonchalance laissant tout aller à l'abandon."

There is strong evidence too that Montaigne took his part in all neighbourly intercourse and friendship. He speaks of himself as experienced in the commoner kinds of good-fellowship, although he holds them light in comparison with his one supreme friendship. The Comte de Grammond, who died in 1580 at the siege of Fère, was his 'very good friend'; one of the *Essays* is dedicated to the Comtesse, his wife, 'la belle Corisande.' He breaks off in the middle of an essay to insert an address to Mme de Duras, who had visited him as he was writing; he dedicates another essay to Mlle Diane de Foix, and to Mme d'Estissac that on the *Affection of Fathers for their Children.* He accosts these ladies with a neighbourly intimacy, while in the latter essay he illustrates freely, though not by name, from this, that, and another, of his acquaintance. We see him there called in to remonstrate with a youth addicted to the vice, then very prevalent among the noblesse, of thieving; on another occasion volunteering the counsel to an elderly father that he should give place to his children. He records in the same essay a most touching and human trait in the grim Monluc, that veteran's lament over his own hardness to his dead son,—with whom Montaigne,

by the way, would seem to have been linked by some common rights of patronage.

Montaigne's days of 'leisure' would thus seem to have been well filled enough. And neither was it from absorbing duties that he had withdrawn. His retirement was not the abrupt break and abandonment of a life's policy—as was the retreat of l'Hôpital,—nor was the change so marked as that made by Henri de Mesmes, upon his unmerited disgrace, when he turned from public office to the pursuit, really more congenial to him, of literature and culture. Still less was there the marked contrast between the active stirring life of Tavannes, and his retreat, while still in the prime of life, to write his memoirs and remarry. Montaigne resigned only the magistracy, 'long wearied,' and he might have added 'neglectful,' of duties which had never been congenial to him. And though he retired nominally to devote himself to the Muses, it was to no such diligent and laborious service as that rendered by l'Hôpital and by De Mesmes. One hour's continuous reading was, for him, much. And he esteemed all knowledge dearly purchased at the expense of health and of light-heartedness.

Montaigne's retirement was nevertheless intended seriously, and must be so interpreted. He commemorated it by a tablet giving the precise day—"the eve of the calends of March, his birthday," on which he "Michel de Montaigne, already long wearied of the servitude of the law-courts and of public office, retired, with faculties still entire, to the arms of the learned maidens, there to pass, in all quiet and security, such length of days as remained to him, etc."

And indeed, although lacking the sharp change and contrast that would have called the attention of contemporaries, this withdrawal was, in a more intimate sense, the çentral and decisive act of his career. It was his conscious acceptance and completion of what nature, aided by circumstances, had begun in him,—of his mental aloofness and his personal detachment. Permitting custom and the natural course of things to determine in great measure his outside action and his mode of life, this was yet, 'even in his private capacity,' with a definite 'holding back,' and always without the entanglement of his desires or the sacrifice of his independence. Hitherto he had come across no pursuit that stirred his slack affections as worth living for; henceforth he deliberately turned his mind to live 'for himself,' to be mainly spectator in the game of life, or, in so far as an actor, without ever absorbing or sinking himself in his party. "The greatest thing in the world," he declares in his Essay on *Solitude*, "is to know how to possess one's self (de sçavoir estre à soy). There are some complexions more proper for this precept than others. They that have a faint and yielding apprehension, and a delicate affection and will, that do not readily take fire,—of the which I am, both of my natural condition and by reasoning,—they ply themselves more easily to this advice than do active and impressionable spirits, who embrace all and pledge themselves everywhere, who empassion themselves for everything, who offer themselves, present themselves, and bestow themselves on all occasions."

It is this Essay on *Solitude* that gives Montaigne's philosophy of retirement. He dismisses first the popular cant phrase,—("ce beau mot de quoy se couvre l'ambition et l'avarice,")—"that we are born for the public, not for ourselves," with an appeal to those who are "en la danse," who cannot conscientiously deny that each individual rather seeks to turn the public to his own particular profit. "The ill means by which, in our century, they promote it, shows well that the end is of no value." The answer would not have served against La Boetie, nor against La Noue, who has a hard word for those who hold aloof from their country's quarrels. Nor, it would seem, did it settle all Montaigne's own misgivings, since he fortifies himself from time to time with other arguments. But it was doubtless answer enough for the general run of combatants. The arguments of ambition are lightly dismissed. Ambition, says the Essayist, seeks after all the same goal. It would escape the press, obtain more elbow room, only its route is longer and more arduous.

"The end," he takes it, "is all one, to live more at leisure and at ease; only the road is not always rightly looked for." It is not enough to quit public affairs for private:—these latter are "less important, but not for that the less importunate";—"it is not enough to be withdrawn from the populace; it is not enough to shift one's place: one must withdraw from the popular conditions that are within us...." Neither indeed is privacy an indispensable condition, though an aid, to what Montaigne understands by solitude. "Our malady has hold on our soul. Now that cannot

escape from itself. *In culpa est animus qui se non effugit unquam.* Therefore it must be brought back and withdrawn into itself; this is the true solitude, and may be enjoyed in the midst of cities and of the courts of kings, but is more commodiously enjoyed apart."

As Montaigne understands it, this 'recueillement,' this 'possession of the soul,' is chiefly negative,—lies in freedom from all constraining obligation, from all absorbing ties, from narrowing aim or limiting prejudice. "One must have wife, children, possessions, and above all health, if one can, but not hold to these things so that our happiness depends upon them.....One must disavow these over strong obligations, and love indeed this or that, but espouse nothing save oneself...." Not at all that he has any admixture of asceticism. "One must avail oneself of these accidental commodities, that lie outside ourselves, in so far as we find them pleasant, but without making them our chief support; they are not so: neither reason nor nature point to it." But, as he is conscious of the vanity, so he fears the tyranny, of all favourite pursuits. "In household cares, in study, in the chase and in all other exercise, one must indulge to the limits of pleasure and beware of pledging oneself more deeply, where pain begins to intermingle. We must retain only just so much of business (d'enbesoingnement) and occupation as is necessary to keep us breathed, and to guarantee us against those incommodities which the other extreme of a dull and deadening idleness brings in its train." For which reasons, he shuns serious study. "Books

are pleasant; but if, by frequenting them, we lose at length gaiety and health, our best possessions, let us leave them; I am one of those who think their fruit cannot counter-vail this loss....."

Both the austerity and the egoism of much of the expression in this essay is apparent rather than real, and due largely to his borrowed arguments and illustrations from the Stoics. They go, one feels, a little beyond his aim and accord ill enough, in their indifference, with his advice "...to hold tooth and nail to the practice of the pleasures of life,"—doing injustice too, by their self-absorption, to the warm alacrity and interest that he evinces in things that touch him personally not at all. And beyond his persistent aim, even if he has a rare glimpse of it as an ideal, is that "vraye et naifve" philosophy, which he commends in contrast to the vainglorious Cicero and Pliny, who would draw honour from their very retreat,—the philosophy that sets Cato, Phocion, and Aristides, as silent mentors to purge and raise the mind in solitude. Montaigne, if he had ever a dream of such self-discipline, of gaining thus 'possession of the soul' by the gradual schooling of it to a high and innate ideal, had it certainly only as a passing dream. In general he is content to admire, without emulating, the ancient virtue; he has not even repentance for his recognised shortcomings. The Michel de Montaigne that he reports to us is himself, as nature and circumstances made him, not as his reason would approve him;—and it is his easy self-acceptance that gives his account an unique value as a human document. Had he, after emancipating his thoughts

and observations from the bonds of customary notions, straightway forced them into the mould of an ideal, the *Essays* might have become more edifying but they would probably have lost their enduring flavour. In this kind it is enough for us to have the moral treatises of Montaigne's contemporary Du Vair,—like Montaigne a magistrate,—the representative for his times of that very stoical philosophy which the Essayist is content to quote and to admire.

Montaigne found his solitude, so mitigated as it was, breed in him a sort of melancholy, "very foreign to his natural humour,"—a kind of *désœuvrement*, perhaps, such as the break in regular work operated for a moment even in the born idler, Lamb. Whatever its nature, he fell, in order, as he says, to dislodge it, upon this trick of writing. This is but one among many reasons that he gives for the writing of the *Essays*; the desire to control the vagaries of his thoughts, to leave his descendants a picture of himself, —even some purpose of reforming his generation,—all serve him at different times. Probably enough now one, now another, cause appeared to him to give the motive.

This trick of writing came to be, whatever the determining motive, more and more the employment of his leisure. Carried on side by side with the handling of his favourite authors, it answered doubtless the requirements he has set down,—"The occupation that must be chosen for such a life, must be an occupation neither arduous (penible) nor tedious." It was certainly, as he followed it, a leisurely pursuit, —nine years passing before the *Essays*, then a sufficiently small book, first saw the light.

Only when at home, and at home only in his library, did Montaigne write his essays. The library was his 'arrière-boutique.' There he had all his books about him—"a goodly show for a village library,"—the nucleus bequeathed, as an inscription duly commemorated, by his friend La Boetie. And although he did not study in order to write the *Essays*, it was his books that supplied the most frequent incentive to their writing, that set on foot his cogitations, just as later the *Essays*, when written, were in their turn an incentive to the fresh turning over, for corroboratory instances, of his books. "I have not studied," he says in his later years, "in order to make a book, yet have I somewhat studied, because I have made one."

The books were of course preponderatingly those of the ancients. It was a classical library, presumably, that La Boetie had left to him, and it was inevitable that Montaigne—in search above all else of a broad human wisdom—should find what he looked for, in the ancients rather than in contemporary literature. The moderns were, however, not ill-represented.

In the matter of history, or rather 'historiography,' which was his especial study, his "vray gibier"—all writers indiscriminately were grist to his mill. For from one and all he could learn something of the "nature and conditions of different men," of the "customs of different nations,"—"the true subject," as he held, "of moral science." "En ce genre d'estude des histoires, il faut feuilleter, sans distinction, toutes sortes d'autheurs, et viels et nouveaus, et barragouins et François, pour y apprendre les choses dequoy

diversement ils traitent." He draws largely on Froissard for his instances, and he signals out for special mention Guicciardini, Comines, du Bellay, repeating in the essay on *Books* the several brief summaries he had made at the end of each to refresh his deficient memory. Many of the actual books that the Essayist possessed have been preserved. Although his library was dispersed very soon after his death,—his daughter took the first step by bequeathing them to a priest—, a certain number, some seventy-six, have been recovered by the piety of collectors. Of these, nearly half are works of history,—the histories of Aretino, Villani, Paulo Jovio: the *Annales et Chroniques* of Nicole Gilles: the *Chronique de Flandres* by Denis Sauvage: the Spanish version of Castañeda's *History of the Portuguese Conquest of the Indies*, and others.

Again among the moderns he gratified his somewhat curious liking for *Letters*, a liking to be explained perhaps by the informality and freedom of this mode of composition—forerunner to some degree of the Essay—but still strange, in view of the frequent wordiness and lack of substance of such collections. Whatever it may have been that appealed to him in them, he had a large number, giving the preference to the Italians, and among the Italians to Annibal Caro.

The modern poets too, whether Italian, French or Latin, had a place upon his shelves. His copies of the poems of Baïf and of Bèze have survived, as also his Petrarch, bearing his familiar motto *Mentre si puo*, and *Riletto assai volte*, also perhaps in his hand.

Montaigne both professes a strong taste for poetry and gives evidence, in his incidental comments, of a finely discriminative sense. Even while giving to the nation's laureate, Ronsard, and to du Bellay, the full measure of his admiration, he accompanies his praise with a proper qualification, comparing them with the ancients in those parts only in which they excel. And he is conscious throughout, as even Ronsard and du Bellay were probably not conscious, of the worthlessness of all mere imitation, however ingenious and close, whether of the ancients or of the great Ronsard in his turn.

Food more proper to the Essayist's special humour was supplied by the abounding works of controversy, political or religious. He makes his profit of the turncoat arguments of the pamphleteers, as of the variety of interpretations drawn already from passages of scripture. It was one of the many satires on the Cardinal of Lorraine—comparing him to Seneca, in order to complete the analogy between Nero's reign and Charles the Ninth's—that set him upon his *Defence of Seneca.* Two more moderate political treatises—*De Republica bene instituenda* by Montano, and the *Examen du discours publié contre la maison royalle de France* by Pierre du Belloy, the latter representing very fairly the views of the 'politiques' at the time of its publication,—are preserved with his signature. Bodin, whom he read and appreciated, was, as he says, a writer of another stamp from any, even the better, of these controversialists.

Religious controversy is represented, among the books that are preserved, by two heretical satires,—

Il Catechismo, o vero institutione christiana di M. Bernardino Ochino da Siena, and the *Disputa intorno alla presenza del corpo di Giesu Christo nel sacramento della Cena*, by the same author. These two heretical works were very probably purchased on his Italian journey, ten years later than his retirement. In the *Disputa*, the interrogation of a heretic ends in the only answer, condemnation to the flames, that the interrogator can find to his arguments. In the *Catechismo* Montaigne has inscribed *Liber prohibitus*, and a further inscription shows that he made a present of the work, in 1586, to his admirer Charron.

These and other of his books bear out the evidence of the *Essays* as to his ready interest in the topics of the day. His personal detachment seems but to have quickened his alertness as spectator, "La solitude locale," he says, "m'estend plustot, et m'eslargit au dehors." His library must, on the other hand, have been deficient in what made the most characteristic feature of contemporary collections. Montaigne, neither philologist nor antiquarian, took no part in the current search for Greek and Latin manuscripts. And even commentaries would appeal to him only in so far as they facilitated the reading of the authors; with textual criticism, as such, he had no concern.

Concerned primarily to reach the meaning of the author, he welcomed, however, translations, not from the Latin, which early habit had made as familiar to him as French, but from the Greek, which he never adequately mastered. Only "since he became French" —in that French dress given him by Amyot—did

Plutarch take rank, with Seneca, as Montaigne's favourite author.

In the Essay on *Books*, Montaigne gives a kind of survey of his reading, and literary tastes. His judgements upon books 'merely pleasant,' as he classifies them, show a certain range of reading and an independent power of literary criticism.

One is surprised, it is true, to find Rabelais in this category, sandwiched in between Boccaccio and the *Baisers de Jean Second*;—but among his Latin authors Montaigne distinguishes with more nicety, and has always a ground to give for his preference. He shows the courage of his opinions more especially, however, in his criticism of Cicero, who, save for a very few dissentient voices, was held as above all criticism. From authors read for profit as well as pleasure—it is under this category that he treats of Cicero—Montaigne requires above all that they should come straight to the point, and he votes the manner of Cicero—burying his substance in "prefaces, digressions, definitions, partitions and etymologies"—to be feeble and wearisome. "I desire discourses that charge at once into the thick of the difficulty; his beat about the bush: they are well enough for the school, for the bar, or for a sermon, where we have leisure to doze, and are in time enough a quarter of an hour later to catch up the thread of the discourse."

It is in this matter of directness that he gives the preference to Seneca and Plutarch, adding also to them Pliny. And he likes their disjointed composition, the *Letters* of the one, the brief *Opuscules* of the other, requiring no continuous study. But

they commend themselves, too, by their actual opinions, their moral philosophy. So far as Montaigne looked, in his reading, beyond the pleasure of the moment, he sought—so he tells us—only wisdom for the conduct of life. "Je ne cherche aux livres qu'à m'y donner du plaisir par un honneste amusement; ou, si j'estudie, je n'y cherche que la science qui traicte de la connoissance de moy mesme, et qui m'instruise a bien mourir et a bien vivre." And of all philosophy, the doctrines of Seneca and Plutarch are in his opinion the best. "Plutarque est plus uniforme et constant: Seneque, plus ondoyant et divers. Cetuy-cy se peine, se roidit et se tend pour armer la vertu contre la foiblesse, la crainte et les vitieus appetits; l'autre semble n'estimer pas tant leur effort, et desdaigner d'en haster son pas et se mettre sur sa targue. Plutarque a les opinions Platoniques, douces et accommodables à la societé civile; l'autre les a Stoiques et Epicurienes, plus esloignees de l'usage commun, mais plus commodes et plus fermes."

But from Plutarch, the Essayist had more than a ready-made philosophy. Besides the *Opuscules* there were the *Lives*—the richest source whence he should draw his own philosophy, should derive his own view of human nature. The raw material, 'human actions and conditions,' is the proper subject-matter of moral philosophy; and each new student of that subject-matter must exercise his judgement upon it straight, rather than take at second-hand the fruits that another has gathered. Such certainly was the method of Montaigne. He may take pleasure, by a somewhat

extraneous humour, in the doctrines of Seneca and Plutarch; may admire and approve, even give in a passing or intermittent adhesion,—but he neither applies them really to the conduct of his own life, nor lets them colour his own observation. Rather, in the license of his cogitations, he resolves again their doctrines into raw material, setting them at a distance, to be weighed, with the vast and varied conglomerate of human opinion, in his impartial scales. For all, as well thought as action, opinion as well as custom, all that is part and parcel of humanity, comes within the range of survey of the moral philosopher. And, in the end, the conclusion that Montaigne draws from life, from the survey of human action and of human thought, accords not so well with the tempered Stoicism of Seneca, or with the Platonic doctrines of Plutarch, as with the sceptic philosophy of Sextus Empiricus. It is this work—the *Hypotyposes* of Sextus Empiricus—which it is of interest, finally, to trace among his books, not through his own mention nor by the chance survival of his copy, but by his quotation from it in the *Essays*, and, yet more significantly, in the sentences that adorned his ceiling.

Whereas Montaigne's books were soon dispersed, and have been only painfully and in small part recovered, the actual room that housed them has been preserved intact. There are still traces of the painting which, in the manner of that renascence period, decorated both walls and ceiling. The pictures on the walls would seem to have been mainly illustrations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; that

over the fireplace in his cabinet shows still a ship and waves and may perhaps have illustrated the concluding lines of the *Ode to Pyrrha.*

The sentences written upon the beams of the ceiling have a graver import. They are in Greek or Latin, the greater number drawn from *Ecclesiastes*, *Proverbs*, the *Florilegium* of Stobaeus, the *Hypotyposes* of Sextus Empiricus. But whether from profane or sacred writers, they have the common tendency to decry humanity, to show the folly and ignorance of man. From St Paul is taken such advice as "*Be not wise in your own conceit*," "*Be not wiser than you should, but be soberly wise*"; from the *Florilegium* are selected such phrases as "*The wind puffs out empty skins, presumption puffs out the man without judgement*," "*He who reckons upon his loftiness will be overturned by the first chance.*" Or again from the elder Pliny, "*There is nothing certain but that nothing is certain, and nothing at once more wretched and more proud than man.*" This, with scarce an exception, is the burden of the sentences. Two indeed—Ἀγαθὸν ἀγαστόν, from Plato, and "*Homo sum, humani a me nihil alienum puto*," from Terence,—rather point to the catholicity of Montaigne's interests than heighten the sense of human vanity. But for the rest, even phrases that admit of a different interpretation,—that from Epictetus, "*Men are tormented by the opinion they have of things, and not by the things themselves*," or from the Psalms, "*The judgements of the Lord are a vast abyss*,"—come, when read in the light of the others, to bear out the general tenour. Most trenchant of all are the Pyrrhonian maxims, the brief extracts

from the *Hypotyposes*—"*No man has ever known, or ever will know, any thing certain*": "*It may be, it may not be*": "*No reason without its contrary*": and these, indicative of the Essayist's own attitude, Οὐδὲν ὁρίζω—Οὐ καταλαμβάνω—Ἐπέχω—Σκέπτομαι—*More duce et sensu*—Ἀῤῥεπῶς, "without inclining to either side."

Montaigne in his Essay on *Friendship* draws a comparison between his writing and this decorative painting. Contemplating the manner in which the artist executed his task, how he chose out the large spaces for a complete and excellent picture, and filled up the interstices and smaller spaces with grotesques and arabesques, it struck him that he, in the *Essays*, emulated very well the second and minor part of the work—"for what are they indeed but grotesques and monstrous bodies without clear form, and with no order, sequence or proportion save fortuitous"—but that he failed in the other and better part. "For my sufficiency," he says, "does not go so far as to dare to undertake a rich and finished picture, formed according to rules of art." He had proposed to supply this central piece with La Boetie's *Contr' Un*, had not the circumstances prevented it. We may appropriate his simile, and take it that the central picture of the *Essays*, the essential and most proper substance of his thought, is represented in those sentences upon the beams.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ESSAYS OF 1580.

FEW books, as Teissier remarked nearly two centuries ago, have given rise to so voluminous and so varied criticism as Montaigne's *Essays*. They have been taken as the epitome of good sense and reasonable morals, their author described as the Christian Seneca; they have been widely condemned for their looseness and their impiety, and were indeed subjected, almost at once, to expurgation. They have been argued into a defence of Christianity, and into a malicious attempt to undermine it.

By a judicious selection of passages any one of these positions may be maintained,—an apparent paradox, which the manner of composition renders readily intelligible. The *Essays* are the accumulated reflexions, if not of a lifetime, at least of a whole maturity and age,—reflexions not modified one by another, nor moulded to a dominant scheme, but set down as occasioned by all variety of incitement, and at often considerable intervals of time. Already on their first appearance in 1580, they had extended in

the writing over some eight to nine years; already towards the close of the second book Montaigne informs the reader that he does not correct his first thoughts by his second, that he desires to present the progress of his humours, and that each piece shall be seen as it was produced. In the later editions, in the posthumous one especially which is the present vulgate, that 'progress of his humours' is obscured, not by amendment, but by interpolation, by reduplication of later upon earlier thoughts. Montaigne added a third book to the two first published, but he also swelled the bulk of the original two, annotating them copiously with new thoughts—sometimes to illustrate, but as often to distinguish and present another view,—and interpolating the new matter with but slight regard for sequence or uniformity of tone, and without marking the distinction between new and old.

The outcome, the *Essays* as we read them commonly, is a very labyrinth, a "fagotage de diverses pieces." "Judgement"—it is the opinion of Montaigne—"is an instrument proper to every subject," and he leaves his own, single-edged as it is and analytic, to the direction of every chance encounter. Now a sentence or an incident in an ancient author, now news brought from the land of the cannibals, now an event in his immediate neighbourhood, would set his mind to work. And he comments upon what he has read, or heard, or seen, 'speaking to paper as to the first man he met.'

The table of contents reads, for any propriety of order, like the fabulous dinner of the *Essays*,—

"mouton, marcassin, merlus, marsoin," at a course,—and without even the external alphabetical link. An essay on *Thumbs* is cheek by jowl with one on *Cowardice*; a *Monstrous Child* comes jostling up against *Seneca and Plutarch.* A particular instance —the *Battle of Dreux*, a *Trait of certain ambassadors* —serves as well to give the heading as more general notions—*Friendship, Fear,* or *Solitude.* Sometimes there is Pyrrhonism in the very title,—*How the soul dischargeth her passions upon false objects, when the true fail it: Of the uncertainty of our judgement: Of the inconstancy of human action: We taste nothing purely.* Others reflect his turn to Stoicism, *To flee voluptuousness, at the price of life: To philosophise is to learn to die: That the taste of good things and of ill rests, in great measure, on the opinion we have of them.* And this variety of title is but indicative of a far greater variety of topic. As Montaigne himself admits, he wanders far enough away from his set subject, introducing themes which may, as he says, have always their affinity, but where the connection is often far enough to seek. He had, as his friend Pasquier explains, a 'peculiar liberty' in this respect, a liberty which grew upon him singularly with indulgence.

And yet, though Montaigne's extreme freedom of digression, or rather—for it would often be hard to say from what he is digressing—the entire irrelevancy of subject-matter, is a liberty peculiar to himself, we shall overestimate its boldness if we do not take into account the great license of digression permitted in contemporary literature. Brantôme, for example, keeps closer to his subject in hand, only because the

range of his interests is more limited. The *Grands Capitaines Français* deals chiefly with the exploits, or with incidents in the lives, of great chiefs, and the book breathes throughout a military atmosphere,—but the particular Captain who heads a section often figures as little in the body of it, as the title of an Essay resolves the contents. The variety, again, of topics is paralleled in contemporary publications of *Letters* or of *Discourses*. The headings to the *Discours non plus mélancholiques que divers*, of Bonaventure des Periers, read, so far as diversity goes, for all the world like the contents of the *Essays*. *How sugar is made* follows upon *The quantity of syllables and the emenders of Terence; A good answer that the ambassador from Gaul made to Alexander the Great* upon *The profit that we have in books and letters*.

It would seem to be in such *Discourses*, even more than in the equally informal *Letters*, that the *Essays* had their prototype,—a relation recognised in their first translations. It was as *Discourses* that a selection of the *Essays* passed into Italian in 1590—*Discorsi morali, politici, e militari*,—a title echoed in Florio's first English version, *The Essayes or morall, politicke and militarie discourses of Lo: Michaell de Montaigne*. And to certain of the earlier Essays—to those perhaps which had in Montaigne's own judgement a foreign flavour—this title is not so inappropriate. There is no reason why that on the *Battle of Dreux* should not be called a military discourse as much as La Noue's paper on the same subject.

Montaigne did not, with the Essay, so much

invent a literary form,—he was not, as we have seen already in his plan of education, externally inventive,—he gave fortune rather, and a name, to a manner of loose writing common from the mere lack of any standard of prose, a manner which, had it not been arrested and fixed in the appropriate and genial use, would probably have vanished wholly before the growing sense of literary law and measure. His liberty was 'peculiar' in its felicity rather than in its license. It really did for him, in great measure, what the fine sense of literary proportion does for the modern Frenchman,—it saved him from the tedium of almost all his contemporary writers. The literary artist so treats his subject as to keep alive and fresh the interest of his reader. Montaigne left his subject without scruple the moment his own interest flagged; did not, when he lost the 'air of his first imagination,' laboriously beat about till he recovered it, but went off with equal zest upon another tack, and, in doing so, he seldom fails to carry his reader with him. For this reason also, that under all his light inconsequence he touches on the universal; that the most varied, most trivial topics, come in his pages to be parts and instances of the one great theme—the only adequate subject-matter for a method so inconclusive, so suggestive—the large theme of human life and human nature.

The *Essays* of 1580 show more clearly than can the later editions, so fully worked over, the growth and expansion of the Essay, from those earlier strings of instances, which "smack somewhat of the stranger," to the longer and freer ventings of his humour. The

order of the *Essays*, as we have them, must in large measure be fortuitous. It would seem, however, to correspond to some extent with the order of composition. The nineteenth Essay of the First Book was written in 1572, just fifteen days after the Essayist had completed his thirty-ninth year; the thirty-first of the same book was not earlier than 1574, since Charles IX. is already spoken of as "le feu roi,"—and the Essay which closes the Second Book was clearly written last, the writer having aged some seven or eight years since he began, and having exchanged his sound health for an hereditary and intermittent malady. It is reasonable also to suppose that the Second Book is, as a whole, later than the First, the break between the two marking presumably a longer interval than usual in setting pen to paper,—a longer absence, perhaps, from home. There is no ostensible reason for this division, which is awkward enough, into books of unequal length, the second much longer than the first.

Yet throughout both these books (never in the third and later), there occurs what would seem to be the primitive essay, the mere bringing together of several instances, with or without accompanying moral. Chapters XXII. and XXVI. of the Second Book, *Des Postes* and *Des Pouces*, are the merest jottings of matters which had struck him in his reading, the first of no apparent point, the second whimsical as a brief list of different customs.

The chapter on *Julius Caesar* (II. xxxiv.) is again notes from his reading, treating really, as the Italian translation claims for the *Essays*, of the high matters

"di guerra." The equally military essay on the *Battle of Dreux* (I. xlv.) is a comment on a contemporary event, characteristic of Montaigne rather than of the other writers who noted the singularities of that much discussed combat, only in the ready comparison with an incident from Plutarch. In these two essays there is not even apparent that intent of public correction, which was a recurrent, though subordinate, motive in the Essayist's comparison of modern with ancient times, and which appears amply in the early essays, *Whether the Captain of a place besieged ought to sally forth to parley*, and *The Hour of parlies dangerous.* The latter is again a comment on an actual occurrence in the Civil Wars, this time in Montaigne's immediate neighbourhood—a disclaimer, with covert irony, of the accusation of treason brought against the besieging royalists. In another century, Montaigne admits, there might have been some colour in the accusation, but for the present one "Nos façons sont entierement eslognées de ces reigles. Et ne se doit attandre fiance des ungs aux autres, que le dernier seau d'obligation n'y soit passé; *encore y a il lors assés affaire.*" And though, in 1580, he passes no judgement himself, he concludes with the opinion of the philosopher Chrysippos "that those who run a race may rightly put forth all their powers of speed, but that it is in no way permissible for them to set a hand on their rival for the purpose of checking him, nor to stretch out a leg to make him stumble." Later, in 1588, he endorses this opinion with his own. This same corrective purpose appears in the longer essay on the *Cannibals*, and in the comparison of modern

manners, not now with ancient heroism, but with the simple savage. The irony in this Essay, written as the allusion to "le feu roi Charles IX." makes clear, after the Saint Bartholomew, is more openly biting. "I hold," writes Montaigne, "that there is more barbarity in devouring a living man than a dead, in tearing, by torments and by torture, a body still full of feeling, roasting it at a slow fire, giving it to dogs and swine to rend and wound,—as we have, not read merely, but seen within recent memory, not among ancient enemies, but among neighbours and fellow-citizens, and, what is worse, under pretext of piety and of religion—than to roast and eat it after it has ceased to breathe....." Philosophic opinion may be found to justify even cannibalism. "But no opinion is to be found so disordered as to excuse treason, disloyalty, tyranny, cruelty, which are our everyday failings. We may call them (the cannibals) barbarous in respect of the laws of reason, but not in respect of ourselves, who exceed them in all manner of barbarity."

This same essay on the *Cannibals* evinces a quaint liking on Montaigne's part for the simple savage, a liking which he extends to the unlettered peasant. Almost he displays faith in human nature, so it be human nature unspoiled by culture. And he is willing to grant that in this primitive state there may actually reign the 'natural laws,' which he fails to detect in more sophisticated society. "Les lois naturelles leur commandent encore, fort peu abastardies par les nostres." But this half-whimsical bent of Montaigne's is far enough from being an anticipation

of Rousseau. He would have been the first to mock at that expansion of his caprice into a doctrine. It is a caprice, moreover, sufficiently at variance with his general habits of thought.

The aspect of humanity that struck him persistently and constantly was, not its natural excellence, but its universal vanity, its ignorance and unreliability. Primitive virtue and ancient heroism, in the pages of Montaigne, are rather foils to set this off than exceptions to qualify it.

The note is already struck in the first essay, *By diverse means we reach the same end.* There the several instances conclude in the moral "Certes c'est un subject merveilleusemant vain, divers, et ondoyant que l'homme. Il est malaisé d'y fonder et establir nul jugemant constant et uniforme." The second, *Upon Sadness*, provides again a notable "tesmoignage de l'imbecilité naturelle." And constantly, even when the moral is not drawn, the mere choice and juxtaposition of instances tends to the same effect. So that the headings of two essays, *The inconstancy of human action: The uncertainty of human judgement*, might stand really as title to the *Essays* as a whole. But, so far as it is possible at all to track the growth of the Essayist's humours, it seems clear that this particular humour was one which grew upon him; that more and more this aspect of humanity overshadowed every other. Not only do the later editions produce this sense of diversity and vanity more than the first,—this in part from the mere multiplying of instances and frequent coming back upon earlier thoughts,—but even within the first edition, one

seems to discern the deepening of this, his most proper, humour. Thus his faith in the more positive side of Stoicism, in its validity for the conduct of life, yields in large measure to the sense of uncertainty evoked by the very discussion of the sovereign good. In Chapter XIV. of Book I., he discusses in all sobriety the precept of Epictetus, *That the taste of good things and ill depends in great measure upon the opinion we have of them*,—a precept which, as we have seen, adorned his ceiling,—and there he gives the last word to philosophy. "Au demeurant, on n'eschape pas a la philosophie, pour faire valoir outre mesure l'aspreté des douleurs. Car on la contraint de nous donner en paiement cecy: s'il est mauvais de vivre en necessité, au moins de vivre en necessité il n'est nulle necessité." Later there occurs to him a last sad human dilemma, with which even this doctrine is powerless to cope,—"cet accident ou, chez un philosophe, une ame devient l'ame d'un fol, troublée, renversée et perdue."

In the recurring intent of public correction we may see perhaps the permanent trace of La Boetie's influence upon Montaigne; the stoical bias is witnessed to the last in his constant admiration for the display of Roman fortitude. But as practical philosophy, Stoicism gave place to the more really congenial doctrine of moderation and the happy mean,—though even while preaching this he is conscious of the misery of man, who, so soon as his natural condition puts it in his power to taste one single pleasure whole and pure, must needs retrench it by reasoning.

That the influence of Stoicism, whose strength lies

so much more in discipline than in doctrine, should decline, in an adherent who admired but did not emulate, was indeed inevitable. It was inevitable too that the more sceptic humour, if it did not change, should grow. "Si philosopher c'est doubter, comme ils disent, à plus forte raison," declares Montaigne, "niaiser et fantastiquer, comme je fais, doibt estre doubter." And to a mind of his analytic turn, singularly keen to detect a flaw, apt to perceive a difference, but without any active co-ordinating impulse, the constant handling of the diverse matter of all experience was of necessity 'to doubt,' and to grow in doubt.

In the longest and most elaborate of all the essays, the so-called *Apology for Remond Sebond*, this humour gathers to a head. To apply again Montaigne's own simile, the *Apology* may be taken as the central and significant painting, and the other essays as the space-filling arabesques. And in this, the twelfth essay of the Second Book, may be found embedded almost every one of the sentences upon the ceiling.

On the pretext of defending the *Theologia Naturalis*, which he had translated, Montaigne replies in turn, with more show of method than is his wont, to two several objections brought against that work. In answer to the first,—that the Christian should rely on faith alone, and on divine revelation,—he bitingly exposes the present state of the Christians who make so proud a claim, and concludes, from the actual fruits of Christianity, that it is held but as other religions are held, by custom and the law of the

country. Against the second objection,—that Sebond's reasons are inadequate to the purpose, and controvertible—, he responds that they are as good as any that can be advanced against them, for human reason never has proved, and never can prove, anything. In replying to arguments of so opposite a tenour, Montaigne leaves Christianity, it is true, as well as Remond Sebond, without a leg to stand upon. He demolishes the arguments of Sebond with the rest of human presumption, and allows Christianity, neither held by faith nor provable by reason, to fall between the two stools. But this twist to his argument is more malicious in effect than in design. The logical subtlety, of deliberately landing his readers in the sceptical inference, is as far removed from his general method of writing, following the whim of the moment and regardless of sequence, as the implied hypocrisy is alien to his independent and upright character. For Montaigne professes himself a Catholic, faithful to the religion in which he was born and bred,—has lapses even into more fervent expressions of faith. And the general tenour of his life, as well as the testimony of his contemporaries, witnesses to his honesty. The anti-Christian inference is a mere accident of the double argument,—an accident, moreover, which it was left to the subtler and more scoffing spirit of a later generation to discover. In the sixteenth century, there was no party to whom Montaigne's reproaches against professing Christians could serve as weapon; and he could direct his irony against them and vent his spleen at their combined bigotry and hypocrisy, while honestly making his

reservation of 'the faith' as exempt from the uncertainty of knowledge. Faith with Montaigne was certainly no operative force, but his adhesion to the religion of his fathers, if an unreasoning conformity, was as honest at least as bare conformity, to a religion that makes supreme claims, can ever be.

It is in the second part of the *Apology* that Montaigne gives free rein to his humour, and in this second part that lies the broader interest. Remond Sebond and Christianity alike are soon lost sight of. He sets himself to "consider, for the time being, man in himself, without foreign aid, armed only with his proper weapons and despoiled of the grace and divine knowledge which makes all his honour, his strength and the foundation of his being." And with man thus as fair game before him, he tracks him in all his strongholds and exposes his every secret weakness, —the weakness more especially of his boasted gift of reason. "Voyons donq si l'homme a en sa puissance d'autres raisons plus fortes que celles de Sebond: voire s'il est en luy d'arriver a nulle certitude par argument et par discours."

The first point of attack is man's pretension to be the centre of the universe. The round of argument is familiar and commonplace enough,—in the main still cogent, though some minor detail is applicable only to long past habits of thought. Man is still impotent in the face of nature, the advance of science notwithstanding; but that impotence is no longer conceived as dependence upon the planets. The tales drawn, not from Montaigne's own observation, but from Pliny or from Plutarch, of the virtues of

animals—the magnanimous dog, the repentant elephant, the clement tiger—would no longer find place in a serious argument. And yet man has, still more effectively, if on other grounds, been brought under "one fortune and one law" with the brute creation.

But, shifting the attack, Montaigne leaves to man his boasted advantages of "reason, knowledge, dignity," and examines into the value of these. With usefulness for the conduct of life as test, he exposes the evils that result to man from his gift of reason: how knowledge and imagination serve to aggravate, rather than assuage, human pain and suffering: how the precepts of philosophy are idle words, subduing at most the appearance and expression of pain, whereas ignorance and habit effect a real insensibility.

As in the Essay on the *Cannibals*, so here, the preference is given to the natural man, as opposed to the man of culture. Montaigne quotes the 'ataraxy' of the philosopher as a return merely to the native insensibility of the peasant. And he claims the support of philosophy itself, and of course religion, for his praise of ignorance.

He claims philosophy, too, as proving that reason, useless in the conduct of life, is also incapable of attaining to any truth or certain knowledge. The professed sceptics are here of course to the fore, but even Aristotle, 'prince' though he be 'of dogmatists,' Montaigne declares to preach really Pyrrhonism, "under a resolutive form." For the self-contradiction and variety of opinion of the ancient philosophers proves that they regarded their art but "as a toy

for anyone to play with" (un jouet a toutes mains), and that they "sported with reason as with a vain and frivolous instrument." "Par céte varieté et instabilité d'opinions, ilz nous menent comme par la main, tacitemant, a céte resolution de leur irresolution."

By the "variety and instability of opinions" Montaigne in his turn leads up to the conclusion of inconclusiveness. The long array of ancient judgements, on things human and things divine, on the nature of God, of man, of the world,—set forth pell-mell, with a contrary for every positive, for each assertion a denial,—may well serve to rouse in the most dogmatic mind the sense of futility and doubt. It has this more peculiar interest that, as Montaigne presents it to his readers, so antiquity was presented to him and to his age. Aristotle had been dethroned from his seat of unquestioned authority, and, if for the moment it would seem to be in favour of a rival, the inevitable broader consequence was to deprive him of his pontificate without advancing to it any other. So that the philosophers were on a dead level, their doctrines offered concurrently on their intrinsic merits. And it is little matter for surprise if, while this or the other philosopher found personal adherents,—Plato an advocate in Ramus, Epictetus a disciple in Du Vair—, the larger outcome was uncertainty and suspense of judgement. The less that this too could draw a name and an authority from among the ancients, could claim Pyrrhon as its founder, and make the *Hypotyposes* of Sextus Empiricus into its text-book.

It is of interest, again, to note how the real

discoveries and scientific beginnings of the age went to swell this sense of general uncertainty. There was first the meddling of the astronomers with the place of the earth in the universe. "Those who doubt of everything," says Montaigne, "doubt also whether the skies are over our head."..."The heavens and the stars have pursued their course," he says again, "these three thousand years. All the world believed it so, until, some fifteen hundred years ago, it occurred to someone to declare that it was the earth that moved. And, in our day, Copernicus has so solidly established this doctrine, as to make use of it quite systematically for all the astrological consequences. What do we gather, if not that there is no certainty, in the one view or in the other? For who knows but a third opinion, between this and a thousand years, may not overturn the two preceding ones?" And again in the science of medicine: "They say that a new-comer, Paracelsus by name, is changing and upsetting the whole order of the ancient rules, and maintains that, up to the present time, it has served only to kill people. *That*," adds Montaigne, "I believe he may easily establish; but I conceive it were small wisdom to commit my life to the mercy of his new experimenting." And in the matter of navigation: "One of this profession of novelties and reforms said to me, a little while ago, that every one of the ancients had clearly miscalculated as to the nature and movements of the winds, and that he would point me out their error, if I would listen to him. After exercising a little patience in hearing his arguments, which were full of likelihood,—I

observed to him, What! did those who navigated by the laws of Theophrastus go west, when they steered east, or sideways, or backwards? It was a matter of luck, he replied, but in any case they miscalculated. I answered him that I would rather follow the result than the reason. Now these," the Essayist continues, "are things that often run counter. And I have been told that in geometry (which claims to have attained the highest certitude among the sciences) there are to be found inevitable demonstrations subverting the truth of experience. Thus Jacques Peletier said, at my house, that he had found two lines converging towards one another, so as they should meet, which he yet could verify would never, to all infinity, succeed in touching." Again: "A thousand years ago, it would have been to Pyrrhonize, to cast doubt upon the science of cosmography, and the opinions then received of everyone. Behold! in our century, there has just been discovered an infinite extent of solid earth,—not an island or single country, but a portion very nearly equal in size to that we were acquainted with. The geographers of this present day do not fail to assert that now all is found and all seen... Resolve me, if Ptolemy was heretofore deceived in the grounds of his reasoning, whether it were not folly for me to put confidence in what these latter say."

The conclusion was legitimate enough. For science, proclaiming herself already by results, by one result at least of no small splendour, was as yet unconscious of her method. So that while her results, taken in themselves, only swelled the vast

sea of human opinion, she had no answer to give to the challenge, re-echoed from antiquity, for some sure sign, or criterion, of their validity. Or, if so far mistress of her method as to point, in place of authority, to experience, it was as yet without sufficient right. Indeed the most notable result of the age's science, the Copernican doctrine, rested not so directly on experience as on those geometrical reasonings which, as Montaigne observes, were often in contradiction with obvious experience. And it was itself opposed to the plain evidence of everybody's senses. It needed a more prophetic eye than was Montaigne's, to anticipate the large results that were to come of the patient and methodic study of experience. His more natural sentiment was impatience at those who, 'knowing something of the nature of a river or a fountain'—one suspects an allusion to Bernard Palissy—presumed on the strength of it to claim a wider judgement. Nor indeed would Montaigne, interested chiefly in those ultimate questions of life and death to which science at length admits herself unequal, have been so much impressed even had he foreseen the whole structure of experiential knowledge.

This argument, in the *Apology*, from diversity of results, is further reinforced by the closer argument of the feebleness of the instrument. Is not reason, Montaigne asks, at the mercy of every accident? Is it not coloured by passion, clouded by illness, affected by a change even in the weather? And, finally, are not the senses, to which we look for the material of reasoning, subject to constant alteration, and without

any test or standard whereby we may say when they are to be relied upon and when not? (Old familiar difficulties, but familiar because of their difficulty.) Given first principles, given a starting point, we may erect as proud an edifice of knowledge as we will; but it is precisely to first principles that man cannot attain. Cannot attain, unless indeed, — it is the Essayist's saving clause—, the divinity reveals them.

But Montaigne is considering man devoid of all such supernatural aid. And, thus divested, the weakness of his human weapons throws him back, by the most reasonable counsel, upon the laws and customs of his country. But not for that upon a better assurance of unanimity. For, varied as are the opinions based on reasoning, of a like variety are irrational prejudices; as diverse are the customs of different countries, as mutable their laws. So that neither here is man allowed an occasion of boasting, nor a solid basis, even, for conduct. And the Essayist returns to his saving clause. Quoting the words of Epictetus, "How vile and abject a thing is man, unless he raise himself above the level of humanity," he declares in conclusion of the *Apology*, "He will raise himself, if God lend him a hand; he will raise himself if he abandon and renounce his own help, and leave himself to be lifted and upraised by the divine grace; but not otherwise."

The saving clause, though honest enough, is but perfunctory. He excepts revealed religion from the general uncertainty, but rules it out of court. And this not only in the argument of the *Apology*, but in his habitual review of humanity and life. Of the

two resources open to a mind imbued with a sense of the vanity of knowledge and the instability of life, Montaigne adopts, not a more ardent faith, but a tolerant suspense of judgement. The consciousness of his own instability, leaves him, it is true, with a certain constancy in his opinions. "Car, quelque apparence qu'il y ait en la nouveleté, je ne change pas aisement, de peur que j'ay de perdre au change: et puis que je ne suis pas capable de choisir, je pren le chois d'autruy, et me tiens en l'assiete ou Dieu m'a mis; autrement je ne me sçauroy pas garder de rouler sans cesse." But, while adhering to his first opinions, he held to them lightly, as opinions merely and not as doctrine, and he welcomed, instead of resenting, the expression of opinions contrary to his own. This first edition of the *Essays* concludes with the assurance; "I do not at all hate fantasies contrary to my own. I am so far from taking alarm when I see the discordance between my judgements and those of others, and from being unable to accommodate myself to the society of other men, because their opinion is other than my own, that, on the contrary, since variety is the most general form that nature has followed, I find it more novel and more rare when our humours and our fantasies accord. And, peradventure, there never were in the world two opinions wholly and exactly alike, no more than two faces. Their most proper quality is diversity and discordance."

And to Montaigne in the *Apology* may be applied his own later reflection upon Socrates. "Il m'est advis qu'en Platon et en Xenophon, Socrates dispute

plus en faveur des disputants qu'en faveur de la dispute, et pour instruire Euthydemus et Protagoras de la cognoissance de leur impertinence, plus que de l'impertinence de leur art." He is not so much concerned to show the weakness of human reason as to trouble the presumption of those who pride themselves upon it, and think themselves wiser than their neighbours. His raillery is directed against the 'solemn ass' in every form,—as well the bigot who, under pretext of his religion, does everything most contrary to it, as the rash innovator, who, detecting a flaw in the established order, thinks to set his own ready-made system in its place.

CHAPTER IX.

PUBLICATION OF THE ESSAYS. SELF-PORTRAITURE. JOURNEY TO ITALY.

THE *Essays* were published in 1580 at Bordeaux, where Simon Millanges, a former master of the Collège de Guyenne, had set up a printing-press. They appeared without the customary dedicatory letter, and without the bad verses which printers were in the habit of prefixing to the works they issued. Montaigne condemns this practice, and speaks with resentment of the doggerel lines attached to his translation of Remond Sebond. His own preface to the *Essays* is brief enough to be given in full. "You have here, reader, a book of good faith. It warns you on the threshold that I have proposed to myself no other end than private and domestic; I have had in consideration neither thy service nor my glory; such design is beyond my powers. I have devoted it to the particular accommodation of my relatives and friends; to the end that, having lost me (as they soon must) they may there recover sundry traits of my conditions and my humours, and that, by this means,

they may cherish more whole and quick the knowledge they have of me. Were my purpose to look for the world's favour, I had adorned myself with borrowed beauties, or had strained and sustained myself at my best pace. I wish to be seen in my simple, natural, and ordinary style, without artifice or study: for it is myself that I paint. My defects may be read there to the life, my imperfections and natural form as fully as the respect due to the public permits it. Had I been among those nations that are said to live still in the gentle liberty of the first laws of nature, I assure thee that I would very gladly have painted myself entire and naked. Thus, reader, I am myself the matter of my book: it is against reason that thou shouldst employ thy time upon so vain and frivolous a subject. Therefore farewell.

From Montaigne, this first of March 1580."

Nevertheless, it is only with a large license of interpretation that Montaigne can be said to be himself the subject-matter of his book. Of actual self-portraiture there is far less—less even in proportion to the total bulk—in this than in the later editions; while even the later essays are no more a close and continuous confession than they are an autobiography. The story, current in the Essayist's lifetime, of his reply to Henry III., who assured him that he liked the *Essays*,—"then your Majesty must like me too, for my book is nothing but a discourse of my life and of my actions,"—is obviously fabricated, or, at best, a distorted version of the repartee. Only in a sense at once looser and more subtle can the *Essays* be called self-portraiture, only when the 'self'

is taken to embrace and comprehend all personal opinions and private judgements. In this sense they are true self-portraiture, Montaigne giving all his judgements as 'poor things but his own.'

There is, however, one actual and detailed portrait. In the Essay on *Presumption*, Montaigne deliberately sets aside those laws of etiquette, that forbid alike self-praise and self-depreciation, and describes his qualities and his defects for whom it may concern. The judgement which he passes on himself at this season, after he had sufficiently weighed himself in the leisure of his retirement but before old age had entangled him in its garrulity, is of particular interest.

He describes his person: below middle height, thick set and strong, of a ruddy complexion, full but not fat in face, vigorous and capable of endurance but without dexterity or address,—sadly degenerate from his father, he tells us, in this last respect. His intellectual gifts he rates very low; nothing that he can write satisfies him. But to restore the balance of candour, he admits that there are worse things which are yet esteemed. His standard of comparison is with his own ideal, with the "idea that he has in his mind," or with those ancient writers, who overtop even his ideal. He has, singular as it seems to us now, his powers as a poet more especially in view, while passing this judgement. Like the rest of his generation, he tried his hand at verse-making; unlike his generation, he was not lightly satisfied with the result. "One may play the fool in all else, but not in poetry," is at once his self-condemnation and the condemnation of the mass of contemporary versifiers,

alike in French and Latin. In prose Montaigne felt himself freer, and must at least have suspected his power of language, with its graphic force so akin to the merits he saw in that pure Gascon of the hills, "un langage bref, signifiant, et pressé,"—"masle et militaire." He acknowledges, indeed, that his own language, with nothing "soft or fluent" about it, but "dry and thorny, having its free and ill-regulated turns," pleased him as it was. But he is at the same time conscious that his lack of order and method, though he cannot amend it, lands him sometimes in obscurity. "Mais je sens bien que par fois je m'y laisse trop aller, et qu'a force de vouloir eviter l'art et l'affectation, j'y retumbe d'un autre part:

Brevis esse laboro
Obscurus fio."

So far son of the renascence, that he must needs have his ancient model, he declares "encore que les coupures et cadences de Saluste reviennent plus a mon humeur, si est-ce que je treuve Caesar et plus admirable et moins aysé a imiter." To us, it is of more interest to note his other aim—that of following, so far as he could, "a simple and popular manner of speech." For the committal to paper of all the wealth of the spoken tongue, with its everyday metaphors and its proverbial turns, is an ingredient—one of the few analyzable ingredients—in the supreme literary merit of the *Essays*. Turning to gold, with his singularly pictorial imagination, that spoken language, Montaigne derives his imagery from daily life, draws his vocabulary from current usage. He employs terms of falconry, not by a deliberate search

for sources, such as that carried on by Henri Estienne, but because he was a sportsman; if his speech is coloured by the Latin, it is not from pedantry, but because the Latin was his nursery tongue. So that the Latinisms—as again the Gasconisms that betray his origin,—are assimilated into the substance of his writing rather than appended as foreign elements. The richness and nervous force of language in the *Essays* may well be held to compensate for the lack, as yet, of literary measure and restraint. For this "parler informe et sans regle," this "jargon populaire," as he describes it later, was to provide the great storehouse of vocabulary for ensuing literature. "Le maniement et employte des beaux esprits donne prix à la langue; non pas l'innovant, tant, comme la remplissant de plus vigoreux et divers services, l'estirant et ployant: ils n'y apportent point de mots, mais ils enrichissent les leurs, appesantissent et enfoncent leur signification et leur usage, luy apprennent des mouvements inaccoustumez, mais prudemment et ingenieusement." To but few, as the Essayist says, is this given; to none perhaps has it been more signally given than to himself.

In his literary, as in his physical energy, Montaigne acknowledges only pleasure and allurement, not rule and measure, as his guide. What he has to say, he says with all his force, but the art of playing with a topic for the sake of playing, and of recommending it merely by its treatment, is alien to him. Even in conversation, where he claims to be better than in writing, Montaigne declares himself without this skill. Not by reason of his bad handwriting

only, does he prefer to rewrite rather than amend or alter. If his statement "j'adjouste, mais je ne corrige pas," must be taken *cum grano*, in view of later amendments to the wording of the *Essays*, it is broadly and substantially a correct account of his manner of writing. And the inamenability to constraint and rule coloured all his character. Physically and mentally, he required to be lured on by pleasure, to move at the free pace of his own will, or he was good for nothing. "I am come to this," he writes, at an age nearer forty than fifty, "that there is nothing, save health and life, that I would purchase at the cost of mental torment and of constraint." This semi-inertia, semi-independence, was fostered in him, as he recognizes, by the softness and liberty of his upbringing, and by the circumstances in which fortune had placed him. He had not in himself the springs of ambition, and his station was not such as to entail the responsibility of public office, or to make military enterprise a duty. Himself a simple country gentleman, his family traditions went back rather to the gathering of wealth by commerce; the record that his ancestors could boast was 'prud'homie' and 'probité.' Montaigne reaped the fruits of their industry, and lacked the spur of poverty. He had, as he says elsewhere, more to lose than to gain by shifting his seat. And so little had he inherited the careful spirit of his ancestors, so "incapable de solicitude" had he become, that he preferred not even to know of losses and unsatisfactory affairs. He counted the indulgence of his negligence as a special item of expenditure, and, finding himself incapable of

regulating affairs and overlooking them, he cherished in himself this careless humour, "cet opinion de les laisser aller à l'abandon."

The further evidence that he gives of his carelessness and incapacity in practical matters is scarcely to be credited. Born and bred in the fields, with the cultivation of an estate depending on him, he did not know the difference between the several grains, and scarce between a cabbage and a lettuce. He could not reckon—a reflection this upon the exclusively classical training of the colleges—either on paper or in his head, and was ignorant of the greater number of the coins in actual currency. More intelligible are his defects of memory, his inability to recall names, his need for making immediate memoranda of what he wished to attend to. A defective verbal memory was proper enough to his type of mind, unconcerned with external and specific detail. What remained to him of his reading was that only of which his judgement had taken hold. He forgot incontinently the imagery and language that clothed it, the author, place, and other circumstances. Of a piece, too, is his mental bluntness and slowness ("J'ai l'esprit tardif et mousse"), by which he seems to mean merely a want of ready ingenuity, of the kind useful for solving puzzles; and sufficiently of a piece is his "slow and clouded apprehension," that yet held "firmly and comprehensively" what it once had seized.

But a characteristic more essential to him is one which he ushers in with a final apology for its public avowal,—"it is irresolution, a vice very incommodious for the transaction of the world's affairs." He was

incapable of taking part in a dubious enterprise because he saw always the reasons on both sides—, so that he reserved his judgement until occasion forced his hand, and then, he confesses candidly, he mostly flung reason to the wind and followed the lead of circumstance and chance. He dwells upon his indecision more especially, as is natural, in relation to political affairs, bringing forward this disability in apology, partly, for his aloofness.

Equally unfit for the public service, under actual circumstances at least, he declares the few moral virtues with which nature had endowed him,—the honesty and uprightness that he had in heritage from his ancestors: his inability to flatter or dissemble, were it in the service of a prince. As out of place too in the century, he notes his mildness and placability. "The facility of my manners, they would call cowardice and weakness; faith and conscience would there be found scrupulous and superstitious; candour and freedom, importunate, ill-considered and overbold." And so he falls, from self-portraiture, to invective against the age. He detests chiefly "this new virtue of feigning and dissimulation, so high in credit at the moment. I hate it supremely (capitalement)," he declares, "and, of all vices, I find none that so testifies to meanness and baseness of heart. 'Tis a coward humour, and a servile, to go in disguise, hiding under a mask, not daring to show oneself as one is, and not daring to display one's face in public." The professed Machiavellianism of the Court, he denounces, as well for its folly as its baseness. "I know not what commodity they await from this

ceaseless feigning and counter-feigning; it is a thing may deceive one while or twice: but to make profession of keeping in covert, and to boast, as some of our princes have done, that they would fling their shirt into the fire did it partake their counsel,.....and that he who knows not how to feign knows not how to reign,—this is to fore-warn those that have affair with them, that all they say is but trickery and falsehood. It were a great simplicity in whoso should let himself be duped whether by the countenance or the words of him who makes express practice of being other outwardly than he is within; and I know not what part such persons can have in the commerce of men, setting forth nothing that may be accepted as current coin." And, with a return to himself, "for my part, I had rather be importunate and indiscreet than a flatterer and dissimulator."

As final item in his self-characterization, Montaigne names his *judgement*, "that in which no man yet deemed himself deficient," as the sole thing in himself which he esteems. "An ordinary, common, and popular recommendation, for who ever conceived himself lacking in judgement?" "I think that my opinions are good and sound," he remarks, "but who is there that does not believe as much of his?" The best proof that he has to advance is, he takes it, the poor opinion he has of himself, since it shows that his judgement is unbiassed by his peculiar self-love,—*peculiar*, in that, while other men lose themselves in external objects, he refers back everything to himself as centre.

In the very last Essay, upon *The Resemblance of Children to their Parents*, there is again much personal detail, though of a more external kind. As a somewhat melancholy close to this first series of his cogitations, Montaigne narrates how, after enjoying all his life an "alaigre santé," he has been at length overtaken by the hereditary malady, the stone. He puts however a cheerful face upon even this matter, finds in it fresh evidence of the accommodating force of habit, and makes it the occasion for a diatribe against the uncertainties of the medical science. His aversion to medicine was a family heritage, as well as his malady, but he brings reason in to fortify and defend what would otherwise be a mere instinctive prejudice. He does not, however, take so wide a ground as in the *Apology*. He admits the possibility, and even likelihood, of such an art,—"that there may be, among so many works of nature, things proper to the conservation of our health." He professes to be attacking only the science of medicine as in vogue and actual repute. But he does, as a fact, extend his ground, adducing the testimony of the ancients, and showing plainly enough that he is no more disposed to put faith in the new science of Paracelsus and Fioravanti than in that of the orthodox practitioner. "Since those ancient mutations in medicine, there have been an infinite number more, down to our times, and, the more often, mutations whole and universal, such as are those that are being made in our day by Paracelsus, Fioravanti and Argenterius: for they do not alter merely a drug or a prescription, but, by what I am told, the whole contexture and police of

the body of medicine, accusing of ignorance and trickery all those who before them have made it a profession. I leave you to imagine what becomes of the poor patient."

The one form of treatment which Montaigne practised, though even this without much faith, was the taking waters at the various cures then in repute. He had already, when he wrote this concluding Essay, visited the nearer watering-places of the Pyrenees. And with health in view partly, and to visit the baths of Germany and Italy, he made a longer journey directly after the publication of the *Essays*. He may have been urged to it, even, by medical advice, and have had his own case in view when he gives, as a last hit at the doctors, their ingenuity in getting rid of a patient, whom they have failed to cure, by sending him to make vows, drink waters, or travel in foreign lands. The journal which he kept, for the benefit presumably of his wife and domestic circle, contains pages of full and wearisome detail concerning the progress of his malady, and the effect upon it of the waters of Plombières, Baden and Lucca.

But while health was one motive, it was not the only one that set him upon the journey. He tells us of the satisfaction with which he left out of view, for a time, the spectacle of his unhappy country, and again of his pleasure in shaking off the cares, lightly as they sat upon him, of his household and estate. And, besides, he escorted to Italy his young ward and brother, Bertrand de Mattecoulon, then of an age to complete his education by foreign travel, and with

him a M. de Cazelis, probably a young relative by marriage, who remained behind in Padua.

The *Journal*, discovered and printed only in the 18th century (1774), is incomplete, wanting two leaves at the beginning. But, connecting the dates with an entry in the *Ephemerides*, which reports him present at the siege of La Fère, in the August of 1580, it seems evident that Montaigne began his 'grand tour' by way of Paris, proceeding thence to the siege. He presented, doubtless, at this time his *Essays* to the King, receiving in return his compliments. Thence he passed through France, via Beaumont, Meaux, etc.... to Plombières, the young d'Estissac joining him at Beaumont, to share expenses, as the journal records, and presumably for companionship. From Plombières, after a ten days' stay to take the waters, the party passed on, by way of Bâle to Baden, and then again through Schaffhausen, Constance, Kempten, Munich ....., over the Tirol into Italy.

Rome was to be the extreme point. But the Essayist, although we may well accredit him with curiosity to see the cradle and home of Roman greatness, would yet willingly, for the mere pleasure of travelling, have prolonged and deviated his route thither. The servant, or secretary, who wrote half the journal for him, records that, "in his belief," had Montaigne "been alone with his own party (avec les siens) he would have gone to Cracovie or to Greece by land instead of turning off to Italy; but he could not impart to any one of his companions—who each wanted to reach his destination—the pleasure that he took in visiting foreign lands, a pleasure so grateful

as to make him forget his age and his health. Indeed he was in the habit of saying that when, after a restless night, he recollected in the morning that he had a town or a new country to see, he rose with expectancy and eagerness....I never saw him," continues the scribe, "less tired or less complaining of his sufferings, with his mind so on the stretch, whether by the way or at home, for all he should see, and so searching out every opportunity to converse with strangers, that I believe all this diverted his malady. When the complaint was made to him that he often conducted the party by deviating and contrary ways..., often getting back close to the place he had started from (as he did either because he had heard of something worth seeing, or changing his mind according to the occasion), he replied that, for his part, he had no other destination than the place where he chanced to be, and that he could not go wrong, or out of his way, having no other end in view than to reside in new localities....As for Rome....., he desired to see it so much the less than other places, because it was common property,—and there was not a lackey but could give them information about Florence or Ferrara. He said, again, that he felt like those who read a very pleasant tale, or a fine book, and fear to come too soon to the end of it; he, in like manner, took so great pleasure in travelling that he hated the neighbourhood of the place where he was to rest, and proposed sundry plans for travelling at his ease if he could be alone."

This witness to Montaigne's Bohemianism and capacity—not of his times—for purposeless light-

hearted wandering, is one of the more interesting points in a journal which as a whole, as a literary document at any rate, is disappointing. Its comparative triviality may be largely due to the fact that a third of it was written in this manner by a secretary, and a third again, for practice, in a foreign tongue. Montaigne's knowledge of Italian, though fluent enough, had naturally none of the intimacy and force of his native French, and could serve him as vehicle only of his surface thoughts. But even the intermediate portion of this "belle besoigne," which the departure of his secretary obliged Montaigne to carry on himself, written as it was in French, and much of it during his stay in Rome, is comparatively poor in interest. The slight sense of daily compulsion, which attends the keeping of a journal, may have been a check upon his reveries; the constant stimulus and outlet of change and movement—the very absence in Rome of the 'two mortal enemies, ennui and idleness,'—may have detained his mind upon the surface. But, whatever the cause, Montaigne confines himself for the most part to a descriptive record, without comment, of his experiences. And, as a record, there is much of the merest triviality,—the respective comfort of the inns, the state of his health, the means of conveyance, etc. The objects of note, again, that he sets down, are mentioned with a tourist's surface interest, and without more than a tourist's descriptive faculty. In Rome, chance and his insignificance, as he says, opened to him the Vatican Library, and gave him the handling of manuscripts, which M. d'Abain

(Louis de la Chasteignerie), ambassador at Rome,—the friend of Joseph Scaliger and of Muret,—had tried in vain to get a sight of. But beyond a special satisfaction in seeing the manuscripts of Seneca and of Plutarch's *Opuscules*, Montaigne's interest in the several objects of note is, even here, that of the ordinary tourist.

As for the antiquities and ruins, which it was the fashion of that day, as of ours, to make the object of research, Montaigne was without the antiquarian instinct. He enjoyed wandering among the ruins, as in the vineyards, but has scarce an individual mention of a monument. The vanity of the attempt to reconstruct in imagination ancient Rome from the actual remains,—which are not so much, he says, the *ruins*, as the *sepulchre*, of Rome—is as patent to him as most other vanities. "He said," his secretary writes, presumably taking down verbatim what is the most elaborate reflection in the journal, "he said that nothing was to be seen of Rome, save the sky beneath which she had lain and the plan of her site;.....that those who said the ruins, at least, of Rome were to be seen, said too much, for the ruins of so terrific an engine would report more honour and reverence to her memory; for all that they saw was no more than her sepulchre;.....that the buildings of this bastard Rome which were now being added on to that ancient masonry, notwithstanding that they were enough to ravish the actual age, called to his mind the nests which, in France, the sparrows and swallows hang upon the vaults and roofs of the churches recently demolished by the Huguenots." The simile is as

descriptive of the actual state of France as of Rome! This judgement upon Rome, which extends to some length, is of an eloquence more rounded and rhetorical than is customary with Montaigne. In the *Journal* it stands as an isolated effort. The general style there, as the matter, is homely enough, its plainness of colour having no merit, unless that of realism, to claim.

He takes up the pen himself on the departure of his amanuensis, to describe an attempted exorcism that he witnessed. The devil was an obstinate one and no miracle attended the efforts of the priest,—the sobriety of the account contrasts strikingly enough with other contemporary reports of exorcisms. Of more personal interest is the account of his dinner, with Muret and other savants, at his friend the ambassador's; and of his attempted defence of Amyot's *Plutarch*. Montaigne argued that, even where Amyot had failed to render Plutarch, he had substituted an apparent sense that hung well with the context; but he could not maintain his ground against the more learned proofs brought forward by the others. Unable to dispute their premises, as to the true sense of certain passages, he was obliged to admit "de bone foi" their conclusion—that the translator had given a lame and tortured meaning in place of one clear and easy. And very piquant is the narrative of his affair with the ecclesiastical censorship. All the books he brought with him were retained for examination,—so lengthy a business that, as he observes, a man who had anything else to do might well take them as lost,—a *Book of Hours*, because of Paris not of Rome,

and the books of certain German ecclesiastics *against* the heretics, because in combating their errors they made mention of them, being held especially as suspicious. Montaigne was moved to congratulate himself, in view of his curiosity, and of the fact that he had just come through Germany, that he had no prohibited book about him. But even the *Essays*, which he had with him, were not to escape without correction. The points disapproved of were "the use of the word fortune, the mention of heretical poets, the defence of the Emperor Julian, and the animadversion upon the need for one who prays to be, for the time, exempt from vicious desires; item, to esteem all that goes beyond simple killing to be cruelty; item, that a child should be brought up to do everything, and other such things." The author was bold to maintain these points, which he enumerates, as his real opinions, and to contend, as regards others which he does not specify, that the censor had misunderstood him,—with the result that the 'maestro del sacro palazzo,' who, knowing no French, had relied on the report of a French monk, ended by leaving it to Montaigne's own conscience to amend whatever he should find ill-judged (de mauvais gout). And, as a conclusion of the whole matter, when the Essayist came to take his leave of Rome, and of his censors, the said major-domo and his colleague begged him to pay no attention to the censure, which contained—they had learned from other Frenchmen—sundry "sottises." "Il me sembla," Montaigne concludes, "les laisser fort contans de moi; et pour s'excuser de ce qu'ils avoient einsi curieusemant veu mon

Livre et condammé en quelques choses, m'allegarent plusieurs Livres de notre tamps de Cardinaus et Religieus de très-bone réputation, censurés pour quelques teles imperfections, qui ne touchoint nulemant la reputation de l'authur ny de l'euvre en gros; me priarent d'eider à l'Eglise par mon éloquance (ce sont leurs mots de courtoisie), et de faire demure en cete ville paisible et hors de trouble avecques eus. Ce sont persones de grande authorité et cardinalables." The pope, Gregory XIII., had addressed to him, at his audience, somewhat similar "mots de courtoisie."

The Essayist was not content to leave Rome without obtaining an 'empty honour,' as he recognised it, but upon which he had set his heart,—the title of Roman citizen, sometimes still conferred on illustrious strangers. He records this honour, and gives at length the Bull conferring it, in the later Essay *Upon Vanity*. It was a childish humour, as he admits, that made him thus desire to be enrolled, by barren title, with the heroes of antiquity. A childish humour, yet scarcely a foolish one, and in keeping with that vein of sentiment that made him like to wear his father's old black cloak, and to put up commemorative tablets. Other slight incidents recorded in the *Journal* have been thought to indicate a more vulgar vanity—without the redeeming romantic touch. He showed a somewhat unphilosophic readiness in conforming with the custom of leaving his coat-of-arms—the Montaigne coat-of-arms—to adorn the inns where he had been well served. On one occasion he amused himself, too, by counterfeiting a greater dignity than he possessed,—causing the burghers of Augsburg, who

had mistaken him and his company for noblemen, to be left under their wrong impression. Again childish, but innocent enough and naïvely recorded in the *Journal.* Montaigne would seem, indeed, to have had a superficial tinge of vanity—not, surely, a 'whole dye.' It betrayed itself in his childhood, he tells us himself, by a strutting gait and vain-glorious gesture; and it is a quality that well accords with his easy, surface self-contentment, and with his pleasure in standing well with his company, whether that of ecclesiastics and 'cardinalables' or of his guests at the dance he gave, on his return journey, at the Baths of Lucca.

But the *Journal* illustrates more than the Essayist's vanity. We find his tolerance evinced, and his readiness to associate with all good company of whatever creed, in the acquaintances he made or claimed upon the road. At Epernay it is the Jesuit Maldonat whom he accosts and with whom he holds 'propos de sçavoir'; at Bâle his friends are Hotman the Calvinist, Grynaeus, and others of the same persuasion. And again, in Germany, his humour of finding everywhere divergence of opinion has an ample field for exercise among the various sects of the Reformers. He inquires, and notes down, at each place that he passes through, what are the sectarian views, and what the disagreements. Similarly he notes varying customs,—though it is disappointing to find how trivial are, for the most part, the varieties noted. They are differences in cooking, whether the wine is mixed with water, and so forth—details that come to the notice of any traveller. But Montaigne was unlike

the average traveller in the readiness with which he accommodated himself to the custom of the country in such matters, approving even the already much-abused German stoves.

And whether trivial or significant, incident observed or anecdote recorded, the experience he gathered in those eighteen months of travel served him later, in the retirement of his library again, as a fund to swell, and increase, and illustrate, the *Essays*. Here in the *Journal* the strange tale of Marie Germain may be found in its local setting; and here too are the preciser details of the execution which he saw in Rome.

CHAPTER X.

MAYOR OF BORDEAUX. THE POLITICAL SITUATION. RELATIONS WITH HENRY OF NAVARRE.

MONTAIGNE had found relief, it would seem, in quitting for a time the scene of constant civil discord; he was summoned back to it to play a small part in public affairs. While he was at the Baths of Lucca, the news reached him that he had been elected Mayor of Bordeaux, and the election was ratified by the king in terms that precluded all refusal. Affairs had reached a juncture at which precisely those qualities were needed that Montaigne had pronounced useless in his generation. Henry III. was tired of war; desired a full leisure, and the undivided use of the public coffers, for those follies and debauches in which he was rapidly frittering away his early popularity. He had concluded with Navarre, at the close of the previous year (1550), the Treaty or Conference of Fleix, one clause of which—conceded it was said to the resentment of Margaret of Valois, but in any case to the interest of a peace policy—provided for the withdrawal from Guyenne

of the restless Maréchal de Biron, who exercised there the double function of Lieutenant-General and Mayor of Bordeaux. As lieutenant-general he was replaced by the quieter and more politic Matignon; it was to take his place as mayor that Montaigne was chosen.

Matignon was sent to Guyenne with the order "to pacify by his prudence and his presence this huge province, where there gathered all the great storms that afterwards broke upon the residue of the Kingdom." The choice of Montaigne, to fill the narrower but sufficiently responsible post of mayor, was undoubtedly made with a like view to the maintenance of peace and order. His sentiments had been made public property in the preceding year; they were long personally known, if not to Henry of Navarre himself, certainly to the Marquis de Trans, in whose Château of Fleix the conference had been held. De Trans, who had before been instrumental in obtaining the order of St Michael for Montaigne, was probably the prime mover in his election, now, as mayor. Biron had wished to be re-elected, or at least to be succeeded by his son, and certain letters from him at this time to the Court speak of electoral intrigues and fear of electoral disturbances. It is improbable enough that the citizens, accustomed for many years to set their choice upon some personage well in view and of high rank, should spontaneously have brought to mind a neighbour of so retiring a habit of life as was Montaigne,—absent too at the moment from the country. But, once set on foot, the election was

no doubt the more easily carried, from the fact that his father had previously filled the same office with a devoted zeal. The son was careful to disclaim any purpose of emulating him. "Upon my arrival," he records, "I faithfully and conscientiously deciphered myself, such as I take myself to be; without memory, without vigilance, without experience and without vigour; as likewise without hatred, without ambition, without avarice and without violence; that so they might be informed and instructed what they might look for from my service; and in so much as the knowledge they had of my deceased father, and the honour they bare unto his memory, had alone moved them to it (the election), I told them plainly, I should be very sorry, that anything should make so deep an impress on my will, as their affairs and their town had worked on my father's, while he held the governorship, to the which they had called me. I remembered having seen him, in my youth, and he an old man, his mind cruelly tossed with this public broil (tracasserie), forgetting the sweet air of his home, to which the decline of years had long since attached him, forgetting alike his health and his household; and indeed despising his life, which he went near losing, engaged for them, as he was, upon long and painful journeys. Such a one was he; and this humour came from a great goodness of nature. Never was there mind more charitable or popular. This course, which I commend in others, I love not to follow."

In actual practice, Montaigne would seem to have been better than his promise, and to have found also

the duties less onerous than he had feared. The office of mayor had undergone, since his father's time, somewhat of a change. The fear of disturbances, and the desire, perhaps, to reflect honour upon the town, had led the citizens to confer the post upon men of high rank and military authority. Thus Biron had been mayor for two successive terms, four years in all, and before him De Lansac, who also combined with the office that of King's lieutenant, for the ordinary term of two years. And the wider duties of these mayors, while giving them more power to provide for the safety of the city, of necessity involved their neglect of the more ordinary business. The current municipal duties had more and more devolved, accordingly, upon the *jurats*, independently of their nominal head, the mayor. The latter's responsibility for the peace and safety of the town had, on the other hand, rather increased; this was, in any case, the matter of most moment in those times of disorder. But the very conditions that had led to Montaigne's appointment, caused his years of office to be years of comparative tranquillity. Matignon carried out his orders punctually; was as 'cool and backward' as Biron had been 'hot and over-ready.' And a second pacifying element was introduced in a Commission, also provided for by a clause of the Treaty, which should render equal justice in the province to Reformers and Catholics alike. This Commission, rendered necessary by the bigotry and partiality of the Bordeaux Parlement, was drawn from the small body of men who, in a time of general debasement of justice, have yet made the

magistracy of the sixteenth century an honour to France. Among them were Seguier, the President: Claude Dupuy: the friends Pithou and Loisel: Michel Hurault de l'Hôpital, grandson of the great chancellor: and De Thou, the historian. De Thou devotes many pages of his *Memoirs* to his experiences during this commission; and, if he dilates at more length upon his excursion in Medoc and his oyster picnic upon the shore, he yet does not fail to exhibit the beneficial effects of the Commission, and the need for it. He mentions the condemnation at Bordeaux of a certain Rostaing,—"the first instance, it was said throughout the town, for more than thirty years, of such rigour exercised against a 'gentleman,' the impunity which prevailed in all Guyenne having brought it to pass that there was not one who did not either avenge himself, or commit some act of violence, rather than have recourse to the law." But together with firmness the Commission exercised humanity. Loisel, in his somewhat rhetorical speeches at the opening and close of the several sessions in the towns of Bordeaux, Agen, Perigueux..., is able, while boasting of the improved state of the country, to declare that the means employed have been the mildest,—without other torture, even in extreme cases, than simple death. Both from Loisel and De Thou we learn that Montaigne was in friendly relations with the commissioners. Loisel dedicates to him the discourse made at the close of the first Bordeaux session,—"comme de faict je ne sçauroy à qui mieux addresser cette closture, qu'à celui qui estant maire et l'un des premiers magistrats de

Bourdeaux, est aussi l'un des principaux ornamens non seulement de la Guyenne, mais aussi de toute la France." And, in the actual speech, he quotes Montaigne among the distinguished citizens of Bordeaux,—turning the compliment with an apt reference to his Roman citizenship. The same dedication speaks of the approval which Montaigne had expressed at Loisel's first speech, and Montaigne responded to these amenities in a presentation copy of the *Essays*. Clearly the Mayor gave what support he could to the Commission, which, encroaching, as of necessity it did, upon the privileges of the Parlement, met with a variety of lets and hindrances. De Thou, who was already engaged in collecting materials for his history, speaks only of his private intercourse with the Essayist, but in terms which testify to the latter's alertness and interest in the affairs of his country. "He derived," writes De Thou of himself, "he derived also much instruction from Michel de Montaigne, at that time Mayor of Bordeaux,—a man of open character, enemy to all constraint, and that had entered into no cabal; well informed, moreover, in our affairs, chiefly in those of Guyenne, his native country, which he knew through and through."

Montaigne's mayoralty, begun in 1581, expired naturally in 1583, but was continued, by his reelection, for another two years. In looking back upon the whole four years, he could congratulate himself that the course of events had run with an ease and facility accordant with his turn of mind. His sole business had been to keep things steady and

in continuance. "Je n'avais qu'à conserver et durer." And he replies to those more factious spirits who had not failed to criticize the quiet tenour of his office, that he had left undone none of the things which duty really required of him, though he had willingly neglected those which "ambition blends with duty and covers with her name."

The events of the second term (1583—5) prove that his task of preserving and enduring was nevertheless no absolute sinecure. There is proof too, in his correspondence with Du Plessis Mornay and with Matignon, that he was, as he liked to be, better than his promise, and brought to his office no such mean amount of vigilance and energy.

Two events threatened, already in 1583, to disturb the temporary equilibrium,—the forcible seizure by Henry of Navarre of the stronghold, the Mont de Marsan, which by the agreement should have been restored to him; and the strange insult offered by Henry III. to Navarre in the person of his wife. With reference to each of these events Du Plessis Mornay writes to Montaigne. He sets the taking of the Mont de Marsan in its most favourable light, and is careful to show that it was no renewal of hostilities, and need have no further consequences,—this not to reassure Montaigne himself, "who in his tranquillity of mind, would be neither disturbed nor moved to make disturbances for so small a matter," but that he should have text and letter wherewith to reassure and quiet others more disposed to take things ill. In all the correspondence,—we have unfortunately only Du Plessis' share and not the Essayist's

replies—, there is the like diplomatic presentation of affairs, with the evident intent that Montaigne shall act as mediator in some sort between the two parties. And, in effect, Montaigne faithfully transmitted either the intelligence, or the actual letters, to Matignon, with a frank straightforwardness which bears out his claim—"that it was his habit to say nothing to the one side, that he could not repeat to the other, with only a slight change of accent."

These events, though they had in fact no serious consequences, threatened indirectly the quiet of Bordeaux, in threatening the renewal of hostilities. In the following year, 1584, came a change which, while opening up a better eventual issue, made the actual situation one of treble difficulty. By the death of the duc d'Anjou, Navarre was left the next heir, and, in view of the unlikelihood of issue to Henry III., the probable successor to the throne. The dread of a Protestant king set on the alert all the semi-dormant fanaticism of the nation and afforded a weapon of which the Guises and the League were prompt to avail themselves. In Bordeaux the League counted many partisans, and, emboldened as they were by the lethargy and weakness of the king, they kept the mayor very constantly on the watch to prevent their enterprises. His letters to Matignon during his last year of office—from January to August, 1585—show him sufficiently active, reporting news received from Fleix or from Pau, and keeping the Maréchal informed also of the less reliable rumours of the town. In May he writes, "we are about our gates and wards and see to them somewhat more attentively in

your absence...I shall do all I can to gather news on all sides, and for this purpose shall visit, and test the feeling of, all manner of people....We shall not spare meantime either our care or our lives, if it be necessary, to preserve all things in obedience to the king." And again a few days later, "The neighbourhood of M. Vaillac fills the town with rumours of alarm, and not a day passes but fifty are brought in, very urgent. I have spent every night in arms either about the town, or outside the town upon the bridge, and already before your warning, had kept watch there one night upon the report of a boat-load of armed men, that should pass. We saw nothing, and the night before last we were there until past midnight,...but nothing came."

Bordeaux was restrained within her duty to the king; her allegiance was even, after the assassination of Henry III., transferred, by the address of Matignon, to Henry IV. But so near were the Leaguers at this time to an outbreak, that only the timely intervention of Matignon, helped, it is fair to accredit, by the vigilance of the mayor, prevented it. The *Vaillac*, whose neighbourhood Montaigne reports in May as a source of uneasiness, was the Commandant of the Château Trompette,—the fortress of Bordeaux, —and so notoriously favourable to the insurgents that, in the previous month of April, Matignon had caused him, as suspect, to deliver up the keys and make over the Château to the town, as represented by the mayor and council.

This state of affairs, that called for nightly watchings and the testing of all sorts of persons,

occurred towards the close of Montaigne's second term of office. The citizens chose in his place, by a return to earlier precedent, the lieutenant-general Matignon. It was in regard to the election ceremony, and to no weightier business, that Montaigne wrote, to the Jurade, a letter which has been the occasion of severe reproach.

Bordeaux was inflicted in that summer month with a plague of a severity unprecedented even in that age of recurrent plague, and Montaigne, already at home, writes on the very last day of office to excuse himself from returning, for the election, into the infected town. "Messieurs," he writes, "I would spare neither life nor anything else for your service, and leave to you to judge, if that which I could do you, by my presence in the coming election, is worth the risk of my coming to the town, seeing the bad state it is in, (notably for persons coming, as I do, out of good air)..."; and he appointed a meeting place in the near vicinity of Bordeaux,—"at Feuilhas, should the plague not be already there."

The Essayist's contemporaries do not seem to have found any fault with this course of simple common-sense, but later critics have rung the changes upon his cowardice and neglect of duty.

It is fairer, surely, to judge of Montaigne's mayoralty by the acts to which we find his name appended. In the general dearth of documents, they are few enough, but such as they are they testify to his humanity, and to that genuine feeling for the people which, in the *Essays*, is the marrow of his paradoxical praise of ignorance and savagery. He would seem

to have been concerned with the enquiry into an abuse, on the part of the Jesuits, of their trust to provide for the foundlings of the town, and with the correction, accordingly, of a disgraceful state of child-farming. And we find him representing, both to Henry III. and to Henry of Navarre, the severity with which the charges of the Civil War, and even of the Courts of Justice, fell upon the common people. Then, again, he displays a care for the privileges, or perhaps for the safety, of the towns-people, in his resistance to the encroachments of the governor of the Château Trompette.

Towards the close of his office, he had occasion to display his coolness and presence of mind. The question arose,—whether it were safe, in the excited state of popular feeling, to make the customary muster of the inhabitants,—and Montaigne, esteeming the sole danger to lie in letting the suspicion of fear get abroad, gave the advice, that it should be made with even more than the usual show of confidence. In this, as still more in his relations with Navarre and Matignon, he shows a certain capacity for action, which other circumstances might have developed. And seeing the rare enthusiasm with which he speaks in the *Essays*, of 'a prince whom he knows,' one is tempted to speculate whether, had the turn in Navarre's fortunes come earlier, before he was confirmed in retirement, and weakened by age and illness, his energies might not have turned to plan and execute, or to follow at least with his free will as guide, rather than to weigh and criticize.

Yet so far one may predicate, that at no time,

and not even in the service of a prince who had his warm affection, would he have pledged his will to the loss of his peace of mind or of his power of mental withdrawal. It can scarcely indeed be any other than Navarre himself whom he praises, in contrast to one of his followers, for a like detachment.

"A gentleman," he writes, "a very worthy man and my friend, went near to distracting his wits (cuida brouiller la santé de sa teste) by a too empassioned attention and devotion to the affairs of a prince, his master: the which master has depicted himself to me thus,—that he feels the weight of mishaps as well as another, but that when they admit of no remedy he is instantly reconciled to their endurance, and in others, so soon as he has made provision for them—which the vivacity of his spirit enables him to do promptly—he then awaits in peace what may come of it." And he adds in confirmation: "In truth I have seen him the same, maintaining a great indifference (nonchalance) and liberty, in action and in countenance, during the course of very great affairs and thorny: I find him more great, and more capable, in ill fortune than in good: his losses are more glorious to him than his victories and his mourning than his triumph."

In his capacity as mayor, Montaigne came into close personal relations with Navarre. He was intermediary between him and Matignon, not merely by exchange of letters and through Du Plessis Mornay, but as the personal bearer of messages. And in 1584, two or three months after he became heir, by the death of the duc d'Anjou, to the crown, the prince

paid, 'for the first time,' a visit to the Château of Montaigne, supping and passing a night there, with all the frank ease and dispense of ceremony that so endeared him to his adherents. The visit was repeated three years later (1587), when Montaigne was no longer mayor, a few days only after the victory at Coutras. For Montaigne continued to follow with interest the course of public events and in particular, we may believe, the fortunes of Navarre. His young brother, Mattecoulon, had entered, doubtless with his approbation, the service of that prince, and he himself can write later, after Henry's accession, "I have at all times regarded in you this your present fortune, and it may come to your memory that even at a time when it was a matter to confess to my curé, I did not abstain from seeing your successes with something of a favourable eye,—at the present, with more reason and liberty, I embrace them with full affection."

The two letters preserved, that above quoted and another, from the Essayist to Henry IV., are sufficient evidence of the warmth of Montaigne's affection, and indeed of a reciprocal liking and esteem. To Henry IV. Montaigne could perhaps have played his coveted part of loyal and candid servitor. Congratulating him upon his victories, he takes occasion to touch, with a fine knowledge of human nature, the chords of clemency and magnanimity. He expresses his regret that the necessity of recompensing his troops should have deprived him, at Tours, of the glory ("la belle recommandation") of showing in full victory more consideration for his rebellious subjects

than did their protectors, and that "in the stead of a fugitive and usurped credit," he could have shown that they were his people "by a protection, fatherly and truly royal."

Advice so tactfully insinuated may have induced perhaps, or confirmed, the monarch's resolution to enter his capital, at least, as king and not as conqueror. Montaigne did not live to witness the peaceful entry, nor to realize the hope with which he concludes his letter—"Sera ce pas bien tost à Paris, Sire, et y ara il moiens n'y sante que je n'estande pour m'y randre."

CHAPTER XI.

REMAINING YEARS. ESSAYS OF 1588.

THE episode of the mayoralty over, Montaigne enjoyed again, during his few remaining years, the leisure and privacy of a simple country gentleman. He was not, however, isolated from the current of events. We hear of him as present, in 1588, at the famous États de Blois, where Henry III. rid himself of the two Guises, and, preparing for his own assassination in requital, cleared the way to the throne for Henry of Navarre. As we have seen, he corresponded with Navarre, now Henry IV., after having watched his earlier fortunes with no unfriendly eye.

Both Pasquier and De Thou speak of a meeting with Montaigne at Blois, and their respective comments illustrate the double aspect in which his contemporaries regarded him. Pasquier saw in him the author, and discoursed about the *Essays*, calling his attention to certain provincialisms,—annoying him perhaps by undue stress upon the mere wording to the neglect of sense and substance. The historian De Thou, on the other hand, talked politics with him,

and records Montaigne's experience and judgement—"Montaigne told him that he had served formerly as mediator between the King of Navarre and the Duke of Guise, when these two princes were at the court: that the latter had made all possible advances, by services and small attentions, to gain the friendship of the King of Navarre; but that, having recognised that he was being played with, and having found in him, after all his advances, only an implacable enemy, he had recourse to war, as the last resource.....; that the acrimony of these two spirits was the basis of the war now everywhere kindled; that only the death of one or the other could put an end to it; that neither the Duke, nor those of his house, would ever esteem themselves safe so long as the King of Navarre should live; that the latter, for his part, was convinced that he would never make good his right to the succession of the Crown during the lifetime of the Duke. "As for the Religion," he added, "whereof they both of them make parade, it is a fine pretext for inducing their several parties to follow them; but Religion touches neither the one nor the other: the fear alone of being abandoned by the Protestants hinders the King of Navarre from returning to the Religion of his fathers, and the Duke would not quit the Confession of Augsburg for which his uncle Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, had given him the taste, could he follow it without prejudice to his interests"; "that these were the sentiments which he had seen in those princes, when he meddled in their affairs." De Thou's account, though it presents a problem for the biographer, is, unfortunately, too little explicit to add a definite

point to our scant knowledge of the Essayist's part in 'negotiating between princes.' It is impossible to fix the occasion on which he acted as intermediary between Guise and Navarre, or even to be certain that this loose report of a conversation does not mis-state the fact. But it reflects unmistakeably the esteem felt for his opinion in public and practical matters. In speech, as in writing, his forcible utterances carried weight. With a like respect, Agrippa d'Aubigné repeats another of his political judgements,—one which is entered also in the *Essays*;—"Suivant ce que me dit un jour Michel Montagne, assavoir, que les pretendans à la couronne trouvent tous les eschelons jusques au marchepied du throsne, et petits et aisez, mais que le dernier ne se pouvoit franchir, pour sa hauteur,"—this in reference to the Guises.

In these latter years of his life, Montaigne was touched, moreover, more closely and more personally, by the civil disorders. He was captured and his baggage pillaged once while travelling to Orléans; and in Paris, that year (1588) of the Barricades, his political sympathies earned him even a brief taste of imprisonment. His visit to Paris was for the purpose, presumably, of bringing out the new edition of the *Essays*, so that at the very time he was giving to the world the autobiographical detail, "No prison did ever receive me, not even so much as to walk in it," his fresh experience gave him the lie, acquainting him with the Bastille. He owed his immediate release, somewhat inexplicably, to the intervention of Catharine of Medicis, a protection one can only

suppose extended to him as author, not as partisan.

The Essayist may have found even this experience, like his illness, less unendurable than he had conceived, and he bore it apparently with equanimity. He records the event unconcernedly enough, in his *Ephemerides*, although he mentions that he was ill, at the time, of the gout. His friend, Pierre de Brach, speaks of a more severe illness from which he suffered, presumably at this time, in Paris, and of his courage and fortitude under it. "We being together in Paris some years ago"—De Brach is writing after Montaigne's death—"the doctors despairing of his life and he himself hoping for nothing save his end, I saw him, when he looked thus closely upon death, thrust away with scorn the terror which it brings....He had cheated death by his fortitude, and death cheated him by his convalescence...."

More disturbing to his peace of mind were the troubles which reached him in his retreat. At home, indeed, the hard facts of life pressed him now very closely. He has left a sad account of how, "to the Guelfs a Ghibelline, to the Ghibellines a Guelf," he was harassed and pillaged on either hand. His popularity in the neighbourhood and his own frank and cool demeanour saved him from molestation in the actual château. But, to a man of his independent stamp, it was irritating enough to be indebted to the forbearance of his neighbours for what he felt due to him in simple justice. And at the same time he was directly hurt in his estate by the pillage of his peasants and of the dependents from whose labour

came his revenues. Worse foe, moreover, than either leaguer or reformer, came the pestilence,—spreading at last to a neighbourhood long secured by the salubrity of its air. For six months the whole household had to desert the château, and Montaigne "so hospitable," was reduced to begging a shelter for "all this caravan," objects of terror as they were to their neighbours. The Essayist needed now all his philosophy of life to fortify him. He gathered fortitude, actually, less from the precepts of the Stoics, than from the embodied stoicism all about him of the peasants. His pages upon these people of the soil are among the finest of the *Essays*, and afford as graphic a picture of the state of the country as all the contemporary memoirs. In the grim account one feels him knit really, after the intention of his father, in sympathy with the common people. And he notes approvingly the mild words with which they soften the harsh facts of life. "Les noms mesme, dequoy ils appellent les maladies, en addoulcissent et amollissent l'aspreté: la Phthisie, c'est la toux pour eulx; la Dysenterie, devoyement d'estomach; un Pleuresis, c'est un morfondement; et, selon qu'ils les nomment doulcement, ils les supportent aussi....." So it was, with similar modifying words,—'peradventure,' 'it may be,' 'in some sort,' 'they say,' 'I think,'—that he liked himself to round off the asperities of thought.

However well armed for endurance, Montaigne betrays in these later essays a certain querulousness and impatience. He experienced something of *ennui*, driving him to desire change of scene; a sense of

loneliness wrung from him an appeal for a fellow-spirit. Teased with outside annoyance, worn by an illness of many years, feeling himself caught now—very prematurely if one reckons by years—in the embraces of old age, Montaigne may be well excused a passing melancholy. The surprise is that melancholy was with him only a passing mood. Melancholy and weariness of life are proper concomitants enough to the sense of vanity in things and futility in action; they are a frequent penalty for aloofness and detachment.

But in the *Essays* the sustained mood is on the contrary gay and cheerful. The irony there is often edged but never sour. The spectacle of life is never embittered to Montaigne by a sense of exclusion or neglect. There is not, because he is personally unconcerned, any flagging of his interest. The play of events and character would seem indeed to have been the pleasanter to him, the farther he was removed from its agitations. He is delighted to take refuge, from the poor present, in the more heroic past. "Finding myself useless in my generation, I fall back upon that other, and am in such sort cajoled by it, that the estate of that old Rome, free, upright and flourishing.....interests and empassions me."

The pulse of a full vitality goes through the *Essays*, making them invigorating reading for all their mere negative burden. And if, in his later years, Montaigne's keen sense of enjoyment flags for a moment, there is no real loss of vigour, or change to despondency. There is no running down of pleasures which have lost their savour. The change,

if change there be, lies rather in the greater insistence upon the pleasantness of life. His philosophy has veered from the more stoical maxims to a tempered Epicureanism. And the third book ends with this as his profession of faith. "It is an absolute perfection, and as it were divine, to know how to enjoy one's being loyally."

Meanwhile, the *Essays* had brought their author a certain literary fame. They would seem to have been received favourably at the Court, where the tradition of literary patronage was still maintained, and they had been barely out two years when Loisel hailed the author as ornament, not of Guyenne only, but of all France. La Croix du Maine, writing in 1584, declares the book to have been well received by all men of letters, although he indicates that there were certain persons who spoke slightingly of it. The best proof of its popularity is in the rapidity with which the one edition followed on the other. The second was in 1582, immediately therefore upon the author's return from Italy; while that of 1588 was already the fifth.

In 1588, while Montaigne was in Paris, an enthusiastic maiden of literary tastes—Marie le Jars de Gournay—made express pilgrimage to pay homage to the writer of the *Essays*. And although her fervid discipleship was singular and flattering enough for Montaigne to esteem it, in his old age, a notable proof of her intelligence, she was by no means discovering an unrecognized and neglected genius. Marie de Gournay and her mother persuaded the flattered author to make a return visit to their home

in Picardy. And so began a sentimental alliance,—a pleased acceptance of homage on the part of Montaigne: on the part of Mlle de Gournay, a lifelong devotion to the person first, and then to the memory, of her "adopted father." Even in his own neighbourhood, where he would seem to have been looked upon generally in a light other than that of author, the Essayist was not without admirers. The cult of Marie de Gournay was shared by the minor poet, Pierre de Brach, as was her task, later, of re-editing the *Essays*. In the chanoine, Pierre Charron, he had a more than admirer, a disciple and imitator of his philosophy.

"The mayor, and Montaigne, have always been two, by an obvious separation," the Essayist had written. And, so careful as he is to dissociate himself from office, he is still more emphatic in his refusal to be labelled author. He is "moins faiseur de livres, que de nulle aultre besongne." The disclaimer may be, in part, a protest against the pedantry of the profession, and betrays perhaps an inadequate sense of the dignity of authors. In part, it expresses merely his unwillingness to be circumscribed in his individuality, to be reduced under any category. Montaigne preserved, with his practical sense, that ideal of the whole and active man, which the earlier renascence had borrowed from antiquity. The nearest approach he makes to paying himself with words is in his respect for the cordial-sounding 'Life,' the 'Art of Living,' to 'Enjoy one's Being.' He seems scarcely to have rendered account to himself of what he meant by the phrases. Certainly,

withdrawing as he did from an active career, his own 'Art of Living' was rather the passive acceptance and contemplation of life than any striving after the harmonious development of faculties. Yet though himself primarily, and by choice, a spectator, the older ideal retained its ascendency over his thoughts. He esteems the public service to be the most proper end. The idea of man as 'citizen' reasserts itself through all his personal resolve to live 'for himself,' impelling him to find a justification for the *Essays* in their possible working upon the public. And, since this purpose of correction could be only an indirect and secondary motive, the same idea constrained him to think lightly of his writing. He desires also, no doubt, to deprecate the suspicion that he takes his work too seriously. He has no wish to be writ down a solemn ass. He reminds himself and his readers how unfixed and fluctuating is the very language which he uses. "J'escris," he says, "mon livre à peu d'hommes, et à peu d'annees. Si c'eust esté une matiere de duree, il l'eust fallu commettre à un langage plus ferme. Selon la variation continuelle qui a suivy le nostre jusques à cette heure, qui peult esperer que sa forme presente soit en usage d'icy à cinquante ans? il escoule touts les jours de nos mains; et, depuis que je vis, s'est alteré de moitié." He reminds himself also of the vanity of popular favour..."l'estimation vulgaire et commune se veoid peu heureuse en rencontre; et, de mon temps, je suis trompé si les pires escripts ne sont ceulx qui ont gaigné le dessus du vent populaire."

Nevertheless, Montaigne was gratified by the

welcome accorded to the *Essays*. "Praise is always pleasant," he acknowledges, "from whomsoever and for whatever cause it comes." He was encouraged also by the public favour to a yet freer setting down of his thoughts and judgements, and to the fuller depicting of his person. Once embarked upon this course there was, as he says, no reason why he should ever stop. A singular thing, he observes again,—he takes pleasure in confiding to the public what he would not tell to any private individual.

The trick and habit of writing had taken firm hold upon him. There can be little doubt that the making of essays, however little he esteemed it his proper function, had become more and more the indispensable occupation of his leisure, and that the task was carried on with zest. Nor can it be doubted that an element in this zest was the literary pleasure proper, the satisfaction of fitting words to thoughts and of bending language, as expressive medium, to new and more daring uses. It is true that spontaneity, and not study, distinguishes the language of the *Essays*. Montaigne's wonderful wide range of imagery is his by unconscious assimilation rather than by deliberate search; the careful choice of words is the incidental trimming to a wealth supplied by his rich native imagination. Such pure literary care was nevertheless not wholly absent. Comparison of the later with the first edition of the *Essays* betrays a real solicitude in the use of words. Broadly speaking, his statement is correct—he adds rather than amends. But, as an 18th century critic gravely complains, "Montaigne has the fault, that he

often exaggerates," and, as a fact, he so far amended, as to change actual words and phrases for others that better rendered his shade of meaning. So that we find him substituting "usage" for "invention," "les plaisirs purs de l'imagination" for "les plaisirs de la fantasie," etc,—and weighing successively the merits of "*revenons, tournons, retournons,*...à nos bouteilles." He was certainly not untouched by the new interest in the French language, and liked to try and test its powers. He found it, it will be remembered, "sufficiently abundant but insufficiently malleable and vigorous," containing "assez d'estoffe, mais un peu faulte de façon."

The first two books of the *Essays* had occupied him some eight or nine years. During the six years following his return from Italy—four of them the years of his mayoralty—he had leisure enough to add enormously to the bulk of those two, and to write a third. Thus augmented they reappeared in 1588, the intervening editions having mainly reproduced the first.

The first essays, reflections, as they had been, incited by his reading or by passing events, served him now in their turn as stimulus to fresh thoughts, called up in his mind new instances, suggested other cases to illustrate or to modify the theme. They stirred him also to a renewed turning over of his books, to search for instances and parallel thoughts among the ancients. He had not studied to make a book, yet studied somewhat, because he had made one. He did not disdain even to hunt through such compilations as the *Florilegium* of Stobæus, which

he had robbed before in selecting phrases for his ceiling. The additions, which swell so enormously the bulk of the first two books, are in great measure anecdote and quotation. In great measure, too, they are personal detail,—illustration drawn from his own now richer experience, details about his person that his growth of confidence moved him to append.

Entering all these into the *Essays* of 1580 as into a commonplace book, Montaigne changed considerably their external aspect. True as he says, "the features of my portraiture do not mislead, for all that they change and vary." And they go, one and all, to add to the general aspect of diversity. If he contradicts himself and gives a contrary opinion, he is witnessing all the more to the vanity of human judgement. But there is of course a loss of outline. The thread of his discourse—which in the earlier essays wanders certainly and makes incalculable tacks and turns, but is yet recoverable—becomes tangled, confused and lost among the new breaks and changes. By the large proportion of personal detail added, the edition of 1588 comes nearer on the other hand to fulfilling the promise of the preface, to give a picture of their writer.

It is these later essays, too, that give ground for the familiar accusation against Montaigne, that he is indecent and licentious. From the first he disdained the "vain superstition of words;" he had from the first no scruple in speaking freely of what all the world had no scruple in doing. And throughout may be found illustrations from topics now long shut out from general literature. But only in the later

editions are such topics introduced with frequency, and only in the third book are they treated directly as the subject-matter. The special offender, the essay *On the verses of Virgil*—an essay which the convents used sometimes to cut out before enrolling the volume in their libraries—occurs in this third book. It is written professedly with the purpose of making ladies promote his book from reception room to closet. "Je m'ennuie que mes Essais servent les dames de meuble commun seulement, et de meuble de sale; ce chapitre me fera du cabinet,"—and as a final play of the imagination with pleasures debarred to him in his old age. But even here Montaigne's liberty of speech, though it reflects the licentiousness of the times, has little in it save its plainness to offend. And his conclusion of the matter is one which should commend him to the modern woman, rebelling against the unfair pressure of convention. Breaking with the strong light of his common sense through this as through other prejudices, Montaigne decides that "male and female are cast in the same mould; save education and usage, the difference is not great. It is much easier to accuse the one sex than to excuse the other." And again, "Women are not in the wrong, when they reject the rules of life which have been introduced into the world: inasmuch as it is the men who have made them without their aid." The Essayist's manner of seeing with open eyes, and discussing with untied tongue, the pleasures in which the polite world was very freely indulging, has a certain pagan healthiness. His moral, making, not chastity, not even legality, but only moderation, restraint and

honour, the rule of life, was as far above the practice of his age as it was below the straiter ideal of Christianity. It was inevitable that this, excellent doctrine as it might be for the 'honnête homme,' should give offence, like the accommodating moral of the Jesuits, to Pascal and the Jansenists. Nor is it surprising that 'they of Geneva' thought fit to expurgate. But it is all part and parcel of Montaigne, a proper constituent of the tempered epicureanism into which his acceptance of Nature as guide soon dropped from the austerer stoic understanding of her.

There is also, in these later essays, a multiplication, out of all measure, of insignificant personal detail. In the essay on *Experience*, it is really wearisome. It is here that he reports his taste in wine, stirring the impatience of Scaliger and Dupuy, with much else of a like trivial nature. This may well be ascribed to the garrulity of age. The Essayist was, it is true, only fifty-four when he penned this last essay, and he died at the comparatively early age of fifty-nine. But if a man is as old as he feels, we must admit him to have been old. Worn out perhaps by his long illness, perhaps only ripening and decaying early, he speaks of himself as feeling even acutely the burden of old age. And just as he claims, for his advancing years, a softer régime of life than he recommends for youth, so he well may demand a greater measure of indulgence from his readers. For even if old age encouraged in him something of superficial vanity or 'vain-gloriousness,' it never in the least impaired his judgement. His sense that old age was taking hold on him did not blind him

to the failings attendant on that estate. He conceived the mind subject to maladies and imperfections more pressing in old age than in youth. "What we call wisdom is the difficulty of our humours, the distaste of things present; but to say the truth, we do not so much quit our vices as we change them, and, in my opinion, for the worse. Together with a stupid and senile pride, a wearisome long-windedness, these thorny and unsociable humours, and superstition, and a ridiculous care for riches after that the use of them is forfeited, I find there, besides, more envy, injustice, and malignity." Old age "sets more wrinkles upon the spirit than upon the face....."

The first essay, *De l'Utile et de l'Honneste*, of this third book, is a confession of public faith, made with force and gravity. He can write now as a man who, without great experience, has yet tried public life, and, having tried it, is but confirmed in his purpose of holding aloof. "I have at one time tried to bring into the service of public affairs the same opinions and rules of life, rough, crude, unpolished or unpolluted, as I was born with or have acquired by early training, the which serve me conveniently as a private person; a scholastic and novice virtue; I found them there unfit and dangerous...I realise that, had I to train myself wholly to such occupations, I should need much changing and setting to rights. Could I so constrain myself (and wherefore should I not with time and care) I would not do it. What little I have tried my hand at this occupation of the world has but so much distasted me. I feel sundry temptations to ambition smoulder now and again in my heart,

but I steel and ensconce myself in the contrary...I am not invited to it and I invite myself as little."

But if the desire was not kindled in him to engage personally, there was kindled the hope for an ultimate settlement of the country. And now that times were altered, that legitimacy was with Navarre, and the League was the trouble-maker, he pronounces against change and innovation with a new confidence. "Non par opinion, mais par verité, l'excellente et meilleure police est à chacune nation celle soubs laquelle elle s'est maintenuë. Sa forme et commodité essentielle despend de l'usage."

With a greater sureness of tone in this third book there is also a certain ripeness of political judgement. Bacon scarcely goes beyond him in sober apprehension of what becomes a prince, and of what a prince owes to his subjects. See, for example, his sound reflections upon the expenditure of kings. The prodigality, doubtless present to his mind, of Henry III., moves him neither to exaggerate nor condone. With the liking of a son of the renascence for public shows, and still more for fine buildings, he bears well in mind that it is the people's money which a king dispenses. But neither, in judging a king's failings, does he forget the difficulties of his charge. He can preserve the happy mean between the two Scottish pamphlets which he had been turning over, "the one making the king of worse condition than a carter, the other setting him but a few paces below God in sovereignty and power."

The Essay, *Des Coches*, where the public expenditure is discussed, has a long digression which might

serve as pendant to the earlier Essay on the *Cannibals*. As that gave a picture of the primitive virtue of the New World, so this depicts its conquest and corruption by the Spaniards. Whether with corrective intent or no, the second picture came opportunely, at a time when French fanaticism was looking for support to Spain.

But the dry light of Montaigne's reason is most conspicuous in a matter where neither party could profit—when turned upon the superstition common to Protestant and Catholic alike, upon the belief in witchcraft. Here Protestant joined with Catholic in persecution, was perhaps the more ready, having less faith in counter-spells and priestly exorcism, to resort to fire. The belief was a general one. Only Montaigne remains quietly incredulous. "I have my ears filled with a thousand such tales. 'Three persons saw him such a day in the east, three saw him on the morrow in the occident, at such an hour, such place, so and so clad'—Truly I should not give credence to myself. How much more natural and more probable do I not find it that two men should lie, than that a man should pass, in twelve hours, like the wind, from orient to occident! How much more natural that our understanding should be moved from its seat by the flightiness of our deranged spirit, than this—that one of us should be flown away with up the chimney upon a broom, in flesh and blood, by a strange spirit."

Even when, in the course of his travels, some dozen 'witches' were displayed expressly to convince him,—among them an old witch "vraymant bien sorciere en laideur et deformité," and of great repute in

the profession,—not all their free acknowledgments and mysterious marks could bring him to any other conclusion than that they required to be treated "with hellebore rather than hemlock." He goes so far as to add later that even supposing, as various instances relate, that the dreams of sorcery come true,—"if sorcerers dream thus materially, if their dreams may sometimes thus incorporate themselves into effects,"—still the dreamers should not be held responsible. "I still do not believe that our will should therefore be brought to justice." And he insists that even self-accusation is insufficient evidence, for 'witches' have been known to accuse themselves of murdering persons afterwards found to be well and living.

By this incredulity Montaigne was running straight against public opinion. He was well aware of it. "Je vois bien qu'on se courrouce; et me deffend on d'en doubter, sur peine d'injures execrables; nouvelle façon de persuader! Pour Dieu mercy, ma creance ne se manie pas à coups de poing." And though he does not yield his opinion, he does so far seek to conciliate the public anger as to redouble his assurances of the little weight he attaches to that opinion. "Qui mettroit mes resveries en compte, au prejudice de la plus chetive loy de son village, ou opinion, ou coustume, il se feroit grand tort et encores autant à moy." But the effectiveness of his quiet common-sense remains. Although he doubts only and does not deny,—asserts, not the falsity, but only the "difficulty and strangeness," of the belief in witchcraft, yet the doubt is insinuated into the

public conscience. For declining to be judge, he is none the less a dissolvent and modifying force. And in proclaiming it an undue esteeming of our conjectures "d'en faire cuire un homme tout vif," he was launching into the world a principle that appealed to every dormant spark of public reason.

"A tuer les gens, il faut une clarté lumineuse et nette; et est nostre vie trop réele et essentielle pour garantir des accidens supernaturels et fantastiques":—it is this corollary to his universal doubt that makes half its import. Montaigne was not the first to call in question the capacity of reason, to declare the uncertainty of science. Cornelius Agrippa had long before written his work *De Vanitate Scientiarum* and Cardinal Cusa the *De Docta Ignorantia*. But Agrippa had allied his scepticism with mysticism, had doubted the current paths to knowledge only to plunge into more occult ways; Cusa made his criticism of science the prelude to metaphysics. Only in Montaigne does doubt go hand in hand with the tempered rationalism that, so far from taking refuge in mystery, looks at once for the natural way of escape. "Il me semble qu'on est pardonnable de mescroire une merveille, autant qu'on peut en destourner et elider la verification par voie non merveilleuse."

He does not harshly deny a mystery or dogmatically declare its impossibility. Without ever a trace of mysticism, he is indeed not devoid of the sense that "there are more things in heaven and earth." There is no narrow or hard contempt for beliefs that he does not share. So long as they are not made excuses for cruelty, or grounds for presumption, he

has tolerance enough for them. He has no sympathy with the thin rationalizing of the reformers, and hates their cold curtailing of the more imaginative elements in worship. For avoiding superstition, as he says, he does not straightway fall into irreligion. Above all he is more and more sensible of the mystery of human nature. But precisely his study of human nature and its unfathomable vanity, of its inexhaustible capacity for being duped, of the 'power of the imagination,' shows him the way of escape from the superstition of his age. "Combien plus naturel, que nostre entendement soit emporté de sa place par la volubilité de nostre esprit detraqué, que cela, qu'un de nous soit envolé sur un balay, au long du tuiau de sa cheminée, en chair et en os, par un esprit estrangier!"

Montaigne's rationalism, if one may give his common-sense that name, is constant, equable, and unimpaired by prejudice or preference. He applies it to prognostications and soothsaying, to reputed miracles and exorcisms as well as to witchcraft. So far was he from the superstitions of his church that he may well have been among those whom the reformers claimed as secretly of their belief. "Que l'imagination me sembloit fantastique," he observes, "de ceulx qui, ces annees passees, avoient en usage de reprocher à chascun, en qui il reluisoit quelque clarté d'esprit, professant la religion catholique, que c'estoit à feincte: et tenoient mesme, pour luy faire honneur, quoy qu'il dist par apparence, qu'il ne pouvoit faillir au dedans d'avoir sa creance reformee à leur pied!" And the sequence seems to imply that they had done *him* this honour,—"Ils m'en

peuvent croire: si rien eust deu tenter ma jeunesse, l'ambition du hazard et de la difficulté qui suyvoient cette recente entreprise, y eust eu bonne part."

To realise how far beyond his age was Montaigne's wide tolerance and healthy scepticism it is not necessary to call to mind his successor in the magistracy, Florimond de Ræmond, who was reclaimed from youthful heretical leanings by the spectacle of a priestly exorcism—the devil coming forth with smoke and terrific noise. It is enough to draw a comparison with Bodin, one of the age's master minds. Bodin is more original and more constructive than Montaigne. In his *Methodus* and in his *République* he is feeling after the laws of political philosophy, in his *Réponse aux paradoxes de M. de Malestroit*, he is thought to anticipate the principles of economics. In the *Heptaplomeres*—strange work that remained so long after his death in manuscript—he shows as large a religious tolerance as does Montaigne, basing it upon a calm and impartial exposition of all diverse faiths. Yet Bodin argues, in his *Démonomanie*, from the actual uncertainty of science, from the impossibility of knowing all causes, to the necessity of believing in witchcraft, and passes from credulity to extreme intolerance, urging punishment by death, even by fire. Truly from like grounds diverse conclusions. "There is nothing so supple and so erratic as our understanding." Montaigne gives his voice, in matters of such a kind, surpassing knowledge, for suspense of judgement, as well to reject as to receive. And above all, before killing people, to wait for "une clarté lumineuse et nette."

CHAPTER XII.

MONTAIGNE'S DEATH. ESSAYS OF 1595. GAMACHES. CHARRON. DESCARTES. PASCAL. CONCLUSION.

MONTAIGNE did not escape the death-bed parade, which he deprecates. Could he have chosen the manner of his death, it should have been, he says, 'rather on horseback, than in a bed; away from his home and at a distance from his own people.'..." Il y a plus de crevecœur que de consolation à prendre congé de ses amis: j'oublie volontiers ce debvoir de nostre entregent: car des offices de l'amitié, celuy là est le seul desplaisant; et oublierois ainsi volontiers à dire ce grand et eternel adieu.....Vivons et rions entre les nostres: allons mourir et rechigner entre les incogneus."

He died, however, at home and in his bed,—on the 13th of September, 1592, of a quinsy. A tale is told of him, that he took the trouble to make a personal distribution of his legacies, leaving his bed for the purpose, and causing his servants and other legatees to be summoned.

He would seem also to have finished his days in all correctness and conformity. His good friend, Etienne Pasquier, describes his ending as a pious one. "He died in his house of Montaigne, where he was taken with a quinsy on the tongue, of such a kind that he remained for three whole days, in full use of his understanding, but unable to speak. In consequence of which, he was obliged to have recourse to his pen, in order to express his wishes. And as he felt his end approaching, he wrote a little note, begging his wife to summon certain gentlemen, neighbours of his, that he might take leave of them. When they had arrived, he had Mass said in his room, and as the priest was elevating the Host, this poor gentleman thrusts himself forward as best he may (comme a corps perdu) upon the bed, with his hands clasped, and in this last act yielded up his spirit to God:—which was," adds Pasquier, "a beautiful mirror of his inward soul."

The account is not that of an eye-witness, and has besides only the ordinary value of death-bed narrations, so ready to give a meaning to actions often involuntary and automatic. But it is interesting, in view of later reproaches, to note the respect paid by Pasquier, representative of the most respectable and sober side of the France of that day, to Montaigne's memory. He takes the pious act as 'reflecting the Essayist's soul.' "And do not suppose," he observes again, "that his life was other than the greater part of his writing." Another contemporary of the same stamp, the magistrate Claude d'Expilly, writes of him still more gravely:—

"Que tu es admirable en ce masle langage,
Mais plus en ces raisons qui dorent tes Escrits,
Capables d'enhardir les plus lasches Esprits,
A défier du temps l'inconstance et l'orage.

Montaigne, qui nous peins ta vie et ton courage,
En quelle antique Eschole as-tu si bien appris
De l'effroyable mort le glorieux mespris,
Que tu soustiens sans peur l'horreur de son visage?

Magnanime Stoïque, en ces braves *Essais*,
Tes fideles Tesmoins, tu montres que tu sçais
Fouler dessous les pieds le soin qui nous devore.

Les Siecles à venir chanteront à bon droit,
Montaigne par lui-mesme enseigna comme on doit
Et bien dire, et bien vivre, et bien mourir encore."

"Les siècles à venir" sang however a different burden. Montaigne, wrote Pascal, Montaigne "ne pense qu'à mourir lâchement et mollement par tout son livre."

The Essayist was buried in the Church of the Feuillants at Bordeaux. There his widow caused a handsome tomb to be erected, with his effigy in marble, clad in armour and wearing the order of St Michael, and with epitaphs in the taste of the day, written both in Greek and Latin. The Latin epitaph dwells rather upon his social and political relations than upon his merits as a writer, urging in particular his intimacy with the chiefs of either party, together with his own unswerving loyalty. Save for a not uninstructive characterization of his thought as an

alliance between Christian and Pyrrhonian doctrine, and for perhaps an extra spice of hyperbolism in the eulogy, there is little in either to show what repute the Essayist had as author. Their import, so far as epitaphs have any import, is to reflect the current estimate of Montaigne in his own neighbourhood,—where indeed, the author would seem to have been lost and sunk in the local magnate, the mayor, the country gentleman of possible influence on the one side or the other. "En mon climat de Gascoigne, on tient pour drolerie de me veoir imprimer."

The no less pious care of his adopted daughter provided, by the re-editing of the *Essays*, a monument to his memory as author. Montaigne had used the edition of 1588 in its turn as a common-place book, surcharging with fresh notes the margins and blank spaces of at least one copy. Such an annotated copy is still preserved in the Public Library of Bordeaux,—the very one, to all appearance, that he had himself designed for press. There is a fly-leaf of instructions to the printer, urging greater uniformity and simplicity in spelling and in the use of capital letters. And this copy was, almost certainly, the basis for the version which Mlle de Gournay gave to the world in 1595. The differences are however too many and too marked for it to have been the sole source. There must have been also loose sheets and possibly a second annotated copy, with further notes, in some instances repeating, rather differently, notes entered in the fuller exemplar. Pierre de Brach, who helped in the work of re-editing, would seem to have taken either this more sparsely annotated copy,

—or a quite fresh one,—to have collated into it the whole of the new material, and to have then sent it to Mlle de Gournay in Paris, that she might exercise a final discretionary power. Mlle de Gournay, who takes to herself both the credit and the responsibility of this new edition, professes, we must believe in all sincerity, the most scrupulous piety in following her 'father's' wishes and intentions, and in adhering to his exact words. And we can only be grateful to her that she has sometimes left an unavoidable obscurity rather than prune away what does not fall into natural sequence.

But this posthumous version of the *Essays* shows how much those of 1588 had owed, after all, to the present control and guiding thought of the author. The discursiveness and licence of his humours had grown hugely in that edition as compared with the very first of 1580. But in this of 1595, discursiveness and licence have passed really into confusion and sometimes obscurity. So that, if one looks for sequence in the *Essays*, one must read them in the edition of 1588. If one would go further, and trace the "progress of his humours," one must read them also in their earliest form of 1580. • Those, published already in full maturity—at the age of forty-seven, by a man who held his prime to have been thirty—give the main, perhaps the best-considered, product of his experience of life, of his study of human nature.

The *Essays* were not the last literary work that issued from the Château of Montaigne. The Essayist's son-in-law, Charles de Gamaches, living in the family château, writing perhaps in the very tower-library, composed also a set of discourses, which, after their kind, were essays. Montaigne's only daughter, Eleonore, had married, in her father's life-time, a country neighbour, François de la Tour, and had left her father's for her husband's home during the 'great heats' of the summer of 1590. Montaigne records the date in his *Ephemerides*. But, her husband dying four years later, she returned with her infant daughter to her old home, her own then by inheritance. And when, in 1608, she married for the second time, her husband came to live with her there. This second husband, Charles de Gamaches, Vicomte de Château Meillant in Normandy, wrote a book entitled "*Le Sensé raisonnant sur les passages de l'Ecriture-Saincte contre les pretendus réformez.*"

Gamaches alludes very properly to his deceased father-in-law,—"miracle de son siecle en suffisance, et autheur de ses rares Essais, principal meuble du Cabinet des Rois." But he clearly feels himself not unworthy, for parts and wit, of the relationship. He professes himself emboldened by the thought that the Essayist's widow, for all her twenty-eight years of wedded intercourse with so capable a mind, has yet chosen him, Gamaches, for son-in-law,—"et si ce fust point (certes) pour mon beau dancer, ny pour ma grande chevance." And probably enough he thought himself animated, in *Le Sensé raisonnant*, by something of the Essayist's spirit. Montaigne had

turned his genial fire of raillery against those who could draw every conceivable sense, could find warrant for the absurdest doctrines—even for the vain search after the philosopher's stone,— from the words of scripture. Gamaches writes too against such pretensions on the part of the so-called reformers, but his method is to show that scripture is really, on each mooted point, in support of orthodoxy and the Church. Only to this end, he declares, has he read the Bible, claiming thus in effect to be on a par with his own father (not this time his father-in-law!) whose piety was so great that he consistently abstained from even opening the Bible, "notwithstanding that he took great pleasure in the reading of histories."

A closer and more curious turn to the Essayist's thought is given in Gamaches' long dedicatory letter of advice to his son, which, again after its kind, is an Essay upon *Education*. Here one finds Montaigne's actual phrases reproduced—the distinction made between the "tête bien faite" and the "tête bien remplie": the demand that the governor shall "faire trotter" his pupil: that the child's reading shall exercise his judgement rather than his memory. But whereas, with Montaigne, the end was a ripe human wisdom, what Gamaches has in view is, in part, worldly advancement, in part a quickening certainly of observation, but observation of natural objects, not of men and manners. It is a proof, perhaps, of how much the idea of observation of nature had gained ground,—that the little Gamaches, with the intelligent questions his father recommends him to have always

on his lips, is a sort of embryo Emile. His questions only do not lead up to the discussion of natural laws, because such laws were for the most part as yet unsuspected. If he sees the carpenter square a block of wood, he is to inquire why it is better square than round; if, while he is dressing, the wind blows open his window, he is to ask himself why, supposing the door to be shut, the wind is no longer felt. When dressed, he is to visit the stables, and note the marks of the horses, why such and such colour of coat shows the better horse, why such and such marks are good and others bad. Gamaches hazards an answer to one of these problems, referring the white stockings, that he takes as a good mark, to the posture of the foal before birth, more proper to render him agile after. Then again the phenomena of perspective, the apparent closing in of a long avenue,—"un gentil garçon peut-il voir cela sans demander pourquoi?"

No higher interest than curiosity is served by tracing the dwarfing of the Essayist's thoughts in a mind essentially prejudiced and small. Yet the good Gamaches, with his dulness and his self-complacence, is extraordinarily real. *Le Sensé raisonnant* has, the more from its absolute lack of all literary merit, something of the intimacy of old family letters, and brings both writer, and the conditions under which he wrote, very vividly before us. It abounds moreover in actual personal detail, about the relatives that Montaigne left behind him, about the life that went on, after his death, in the family château. Gamaches dedicates each of his pieces to a relative or friend, giving always his reason for addressing such piece

to such person. To Montaigne's widow, his mother-in-law, he found the treatise on *Fasting* peculiarly suitable, by reason of her devotion and firm faith, and also because, at her then age of seventy-eight, she did not avail herself of the dispensation due to her years, but continued to fast, not only on Fridays, but half through Lent, "avec un visage aussi bien coiffé que les premiers jours du second an" of her widowhood. To Bertrand, Monsieur de Mattecoulon—the younger brother whom Montaigne had had in ward—he dedicates the treatise of the *Praises of the Saints*: "For this reason; that it is the article of faith which the Pretenders most pretend to reform, and to be affectioned to it is consequently a sure mark of a good Catholic; and you have always both been one and been brought up among them, so much so that, when in the service (regentant en la cour) of the King of Navarre and one of his prime favourites, you dared to strike among their press (vous avez osé frapper dedans leur foule) those who spoke irreverently of the Virgin and of the Saints." It is a significant account of Mattecoulon,—in the service of Henry of Navarre, yet standing up for the religion of his fathers,—and suggestive of the Essayist's influence. Gamaches calls up also a pleasant family picture, with his allusions to his own two children,—the little daughter of twelve (Montaigne's grand-daughter), dogmatising in the opinions of her father, and liking, from the age of eight, to hang about her aged grandmother, and the tiny son for whose benefit the book, and the letter on education in particular, is intended, and who was playing about his father in his cabinet

as he wrote. One is fain to speculate whether it was that "cabinet assez poli," which abutted on the library, and to which the Essayist retired in winter.

It was neither son-in-law nor blood-relation, but the Essayist's friend and admirer, Charron, who was privileged to bear the Montaigne coat-of-arms. The Essayist, leaving no male heir, may have intended to mark a mental affinity with this chanoine of Bordeaux, by thus bequeathing to him the right to a coat-of-arms, which, though only four generations in his family, he had very thoroughly adopted as his own. Charron forms one in the trio of somewhat second-rate minds—Mlle de Gournay and Pierre de Brach the other two—that is associated with the Essayist's old age. His attitude towards Montaigne, nine years his senior, was unquestionably that of admirer and disciple. Nor is there any reason to suppose the Essayist, for all his tolerance of contrary opinion, proof against the flattery of sincere, if undiscerning, hero-worship.

Charron himself marked more exactly his mental affinity by his personal device "Je ne sçais," a variant on the Essayist's "Que sçais-je?" By just such a turn from inquiry to negation, he converted, in his work *De la Sagesse*, the Essayist's divagations into doctrine. Montaigne had delighted in analysing human nature, in tracking its hidden springs, in exposing its follies and perversities,—but he disclaims all purpose of reducing the maze to order, of cataloguing the diversity under heads and kinds. Charron has all humanity,—its qualities essential and its qualities accidental,—divided into chapters and set

forth in tables. He is not for that the more logical. The *Essays* are full of inconsistencies—the inconsistencies partly that would be found in any man's collected and unschematized thought. Montaigne was vaguely aware of them; he declined to correct them, looking for pleasure in following the turns and changes of his humour, and counting them, after all, as so much to the good of his conclusion—*diversity* and *human vanity*. There is, however, one broad inconsistency of which he perhaps scarcely took account,—the inconsistency between his recommendation of a practical philosophy and his wholesale scepticism as to human capacity. This inconsistency is heightened by Charron to a glaring contradiction. For precisely the knowledge of self, of human nature —with vanity, feebleness, inconstancy, misery and presumption, as its five most essential qualities—is made the first step in the acquirement of practical wisdom. Upon the assurance that he is lower than the beasts, and more incapable than they of self-help, man is to base the rules of guidance through life! And just as in Montaigne this inconsistency hangs together with his two-fold bent, towards Stoicism and towards Scepticism, so in Charron it assumes astonishing proportions from the fact that he has, besides Montaigne, a second source,—the stoic magistrate Du Vair,—from whence he draws his wisdom. So that he brings in close union with this assurance of man's essential vanity, the declaration that "man is naturally good," that "the true 'preud'homie' is an upright and firm disposition of the will, to follow the dictates of reason," and that, since it is the distinguish-

ing feature (le propre) of man to be master of his will, "to turn and dispose it at his pleasure," he can set it always to follow the dictates of reason. And then a lapse back into "no trace of nature left in man,"—"all the world follows nature, the first and universal rule,... only man with his fine spirit, and his free will, is ill-regulated and the enemy of nature." There is, as also in Montaigne, the obvious confusion between the '*Nature*' of the Stoics, the Universal Reason ("which is God," Charron goes so far as to mention in parenthesis), and *Nature*, meaning mere primitive instinct.

While Montaigne is careless of logic and lets his love of paradox, and sometimes his "purpose of public instruction," lead him into extremer statements than he would soberly maintain, Charron is blankly illogical, without the excuse that he is carried away by love of raillery, or by the ardour of attack. He sets down his contrary statements with an imperturbable gravity. Writing when the Civil Wars were long ended, he copies down the utterances on religion which Montaigne addressed, in the *Apology*, to fanatics that were at one another's throat. He reinforces them too with hardy speculations, drawn from Bodin, as to the origin and growth of religions! It is certainly not to be wondered that his work received the theological censure that the *Essays* had so narrowly escaped. Only indeed at the expense of his head can we accredit Charron with good faith. He had given evidence of his orthodoxy in previous books—in *Les Trois Verités*, a defence of the Catholic faith against atheists, Jews and heretics, and in his *Discours Chretiens*;—and, having thus said his say as a preacher,

would seem to have thought very naïvely of gathering and arranging, in this work *De la Sagesse*, all the purely human wisdom, the practical philosophy of life, that was worth recording. He announces his purpose of compiling from others very candidly—"j'ay questé par ci par là, et tiré la pluspart des materiaux de cet ouvrage, des meilleurs auteurs qui ont traité ceste matiere morale et politique,...C'est le recueil d'une partie de mes estudes; la forme et l'ordre sont à moy." So that he is scarcely to blame if much that is Montaigne or Du Vair has been left to his proper credit. And it is an intellectual rather than a moral fault if he failed to see the import and bearing of his borrowed passages, if he did not recognise that Montaigne and Du Vair were not to be brought,—each in their extremest utterances,—harmoniously, as co-equals, under one and the self-same cover.

Such as he was, Charron enjoyed in his time a singular popularity,—his reputation aided probably by the flavour of heterodoxy. So that he must be accounted one of the main media between Montaigne and the wide-spread Pyrrhonism of the seventeenth century.

The *Essays* had, besides, their own wide circulation. 'Not a country gentleman,' says Huet, 'that esteemed himself anything more than a sportsman, but had them on his shelf.' And just because the *Essays*, both in their native dress and as travestied by Charron, had a wide circulation in the succeeding generation, because the spirit of philosophic doubt had become a thing to be reckoned with, Montaigne has his specific place in the history of thought. He has it, finally, because

that spirit was reckoned with, very forcibly—because *doubt* itself was made the basis of a new certainty, because the temper of doubt was the soil whence sprang the new scientific spirit.

Not certainly in *Le Sensé raisonnant* of Gamaches, not even in Charron's *Sagesse*, nor in any work following directly in his footsteps, is the import to be gathered of Montaigne. Rather may we learn it from the work of a mind of a totally different order, from the *Discours de la Méthode* of Descartes.

Reading the *Discours* with the *Essays* fresh in mind, we seem to be starting over the same ground with a different guide. As well the practical wisdom, as the intellectual suspension, of Montaigne, has gone into the substance of the *Discours*. Descartes, reviewing his early studies, is as well aware that histories are good to form the judgement, that vivid and clear thought is more productive of eloquence, though expressed in "bas Breton," than the study of rhetoric, as that the interminable disputes of philosophers leave all things doubtful, and that the sciences, which draw their first principles from philosophy, can build nothing sure upon so unstable a basis. And while he may, as he narrates, have retraced these steps for himself, the determination to which his early studies led him,—of abandoning the study of books for that of self and of "le grand livre du monde,"—is also the express moral of the *Essays*. One suspects that step, taken at twenty-three, to have been helped, if not by direct reading of the *Essays*, by the atmosphere, at least, which they had diffused.

A still more proper inheritance from Montaigne

are those rules of conduct with which Descartes armed himself on his return to the attack of knowledge. His 'provisional rules' are the ordered exposition of Montaigne's 'practical conduct' of life. Like Montaigne, Descartes takes custom and the law of his country as his guide—only unlike Montaigne in that it is with the deliberate intention of searching for a surer one. Like Montaigne he sets religion and politics apart, as things sacred from the intermeddling of private individuals. Like Montaigne he seeks to extend his means by the limiting of his desires. Only he makes express provision against Montaigne's chief weakness, *irresolution*,—determining not to swerve from whatever course he has once embarked upon. And, again like Montaigne, he claims no superiority of mental parts, but confides solely in the soundness of his judgement,—"that in which no man ever yet thought himself deficient."

The correspondences between the *Essays* and the *Discours* are so many that one scarcely can think them fortuitous. But whatever direct reminiscence of the *Essays* there may, or may not be, in the *Discours*, this is certain,—that only the temper diffused and represented by Montaigne made possible the deliberate setting aside, and provision against, all burning matters; even as Montaigne's sober common-sense prepared the way for the calm dismissal that Descartes can give to the grosser superstitions. "And to conclude, in respect of evil doctrines (les mauvaises doctrines), I flattered myself that I already knew their worth well enough to be no longer liable to be deceived either by the promises of an alchemist,

by the predictions of an astrologer, by the impostures of a magician, or by the artifices or the vain boasting of any such as make profession of knowing more than they do know."

And, finally, the 'philosophic doubt' in which Montaigne contentedly rests, is converted in the *Discours* into the famous 'methodic doubt,' the starting-point for the conquest of all knowledge. Descartes' *doubt* was not so purely formal and methodic as is often stated. He was replying to the problem presented by his age; his point of departure was from the ground prepared for him. He was himself, as we learn from Baillet, no mean adept in the art of Pyrrhonising. And, although he was of too active and positive a turn of mind ever really to question the possibility of knowledge, it was yet, assuredly, the prevalent scepticism that made him feel it so vital a matter to find a ground for the faith that was in him.

But by the time he formulates his doubt, and presents it to the public, he has found its antidote, and can carry doubt to the extreme verge where it expels itself. "I resolved to feign that all things which ever had entered my mind were no truer than the illusions of my dreams. But directly afterwards, I observed that, while I was thus trying to think everything false, I myself, who was thus thinking, must needs be something; and, noting that this truth, *I think, therefore I am*, was so firm and so assured, that not all the most extravagant suppositions of the sceptics could shake it, I judged that I could accept it without scruple as the first principle of the philosophy I was looking for." And having

found, in that undeniable 'fact of consciousness,' his first foothold, he proceeded to build up again the whole universe,—and not the universe only, but also God. "En effet, c'est de ce doute universel que, comme d'un point fixe et immuable, j'ai résolu de dériver la connoissance de Dieu, de vous-même, et de tout ce que renferme le monde."

Thus it was, from *doubt* as a starting-point, that Descartes justified reason to his generation,—justified it, not only in its application to those puzzles of nature that excite the curiosity of men of science, but in its power to solve the larger problems that concern and interest all human beings. To Descartes may be traced back, not science—for that had already sprung into fragmentary existence—but the universality of science, its claim, so long undisputed, to cover the whole stretch of human thought.

Montaigne, the outcome of one century, was thus in a manner the antecedent to the next. Philosophic doubt, suspense of judgement, was the first 'moment' in a turn of the world's thought, the strongest perhaps that the modern world has known. It preluded the scientific spirit, which has made good its hold, to all eternity one must believe, upon its rightful domain, and whose larger usurpations are even yet only tentatively questioned.

These usurpations have been rebelled against, however, at all times by individuals. And somewhat curiously, such a rebellion, so early as to be contemporary with the growth of the usurping spirit, was in its turn connected with Montaigne. The *Essays* are one of the few books which we know Pascal to have

read,—and he read it deeply. Descartes and the spirit which he represented on the one hand; Montaigne and the temper which he embodied on the other,—these were the two antagonistic forces that struck into utterance Pascal's empassioned genius.

Thought of in conjunction with Pascal and with Descartes, Montaigne has a redoubled interest. The clue to his appreciation was given already by Emerson, when he classed him among his Representative Men. Only Emerson, with American looseness of terminology, lost the main force of his title by the variety and miscellaneous choice of the men he brought under it, and by his neglect to define the sense in which they severally were 'representative.' So that one suspects him of using the term with little more precision and point than the time-worn 'celebrated' or 'distinguished.'

Now Montaigne is a 'representative man' in a very definite sense. He is representative of a type of human mind which, with its proper and peculiar manner of viewing the world, is at once general and significant. He was of that order of mind which, however readily active in response to external stimulus, is wanting in the inner springs of action, and, having neither the co-ordinating nor the volitional impulse, is content to accept the world fragmentarily, as it is presented in experience, and seeks neither to remould it in actuality to an ideal nor to reduce it to unity in thought. His was the order of mind that falls into place naturally as spectator, not as actor in life,— acting only where the stress of circumstances would

make resistance the greater labour, or with the semi-automatic activity of habit and of custom. Nature and circumstance combined to develop in Montaigne this type of mind to an unusual fulness, not indeed—life and human nature are too complex—working with absolute singleness in that direction, but with so preponderating a force of current as to make the side issues of small account.

And the interest, both absolutely and historically, of the study of this type is enhanced by relation and contrast with those two other 'representative men,' who, connected historically with Montaigne, make up perhaps, with him, the three fundamental types of the human mind. To Montaigne and the temper which he represents, and which he so largely contributed to spread, succeeded, as we have seen, Descartes and the scientific or rationalistic temper. As Montaigne represents the order of mind, too shrewdly critical to stay content with partial or perverted explanations, but yet capable of resting in suspense of judgement and of surveying, without judging, the universe, so Descartes represents the mind that, whatever its acuteness in perceiving flaws in the given grounds, is yet irresistibly impelled to carry on the search until it find a first principle that can content it—the mind that can rest only in a reduction to law and order.

Then, in reaction already against the scientific spirit, and directly irritated by Descartes' complacency, came the third, the richest but least effective genius, of that trio of illustrious Frenchmen. Pascal had an intellectual endowment as great as was Descartes',

and as acute a sense of scientific method. But with it he had a more overpowering sense of the limitation of science, of the inadequacy of reason to solve the final problems of existence, of its inadequacy still more to satisfy the eternal cravings of humanity. Since life was to him more than a puzzle to decipher, he could not forgive Descartes for making God of so small account in his scheme of the universe, for having used Him to set the world going, as it were, and then left Him at that cold and inaccessible distance from humanity. But neither was Pascal capable of Montaigne's easy acceptance of the flow and ebb of life. He demanded, as insistently as ever did Descartes, a central principle, a unity where his mind could rest. All the forces of his nature cried out, not so much for an intellectual first principle, as for a centre of emotion, a mainstay for his will, a rock and stronghold that should give worth as well as weight to his existence. And in this need and the voice he gave to it, he is representative of that order of mind which, from the solution it inevitably finds or spends itself in striving after, we call the religious temperament.

This search and striving after a principle of certitude, after a ground of assurance, became, with Pascal, so all-absorbing as to leave place for no extraneous activities. He cast aside as dross all that did not make for the satisfaction of his supreme need. And his power in expressing, if not in answering, that need, has given him his hold upon posterity. True, 'celui qui a fait le baromètre' has

still his statue in the Tour St Jacques; true, the writer of the *Provinciales* marks an epoch in French literature. But, just as in his own esteem the scientific or the literary interest is nothing, or worse than nothing, beside that which constrains man's whole and single effort, so in the eyes of the world these claims to remembrance are thrust out of view by his still greater force as a religious genius.

Descartes, again, stands really to posterity as representative of the active, synthesizing thinker. With him, the central search for a unifying principle moulded, while comprehending, all secondary interests. The study as well of morals as of mathematics served for the exercise of an identical activity. *Life*, for Descartes, was *thought*, and upon his success as thinker rests, rightfully, his fame.

Only the reputation of the Essayist rests on grounds independent of the interest attaching to his type of mind. Malebranche, unsympathetic as is his criticism, touched shrewdly, nevertheless, upon the truth, when he pointed to the *imagination* in the *Essays*, as that which captivates the reader. By virtue of the new turns he gives to thought, of the new life his vivid phraseology breathes into jaded truths, rather than for what in his thought is essential and peculiar to himself, is Montaigne a classic and favourite author. The *Essays* have been a storehouse of pungent phrase and racy anecdote to many, from his contemporaries down, who have not in the least concerned themselves about the author's general attitude and temper. It is true, as Malebranche again observes, that the reader of the Essayist

imbibes, almost inevitably, something of his humour. But it is also true that such absorption may be quite unconscious and without recognition even of what is there to be absorbed. So that Montaigne stands to the world, after all, as author and not as 'representative man.'

This displacement, if one may call it so, of the centre of interest, is a natural consequence of the strength of his literary claims, on the one hand, and, on the other, of the essentially unassertive, non-insistent character of the type of mind he represents. Largely passive, it is concerned neither to remould nor to persuade the world, and so may easily be unremarked. That, notwithstanding, it has significance and interest, —in the case of Montaigne, a quite special significance and interest,—is the thesis of the foregoing study.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

P. 1 line 12. "...La grande fadaise de Montagnes, qui a escrit qu'il aimoit mieux le vin blanc. Monsieur du Puy disoit, que diable a-t-on à faire de sçavoir ce qu'il aime?" (*Scaligerana*: art. Monsieur de *Montagnes*, ed. 1695, p. 269.)

P. 2 9. "Et puis, me trouvant entierement despourveu et vuide de toute aultre matiere, je me suis presenté moy mesme à moy pour argument et pour subject. C'est le seul livre au monde de son especе, d'un desseing farouche et extravagant...Or, madame, ayant à my pourtraire au vif..." (*Essais*, Bk II. ch. VIII.; éd. var. Louandre, vol. II. pp. 170–1.)

2 15. The description of the Library occurs in the Essay *De Trois Commerces* (III. III.; vol. III. p. 366).

P. 3 22. "...Car ce que nous engendrons par l'ame, les enfantements de nostre esprit, de nostre courage et suffisance, sont produicts par une plus noble partie que la corporelle, et sont plus nostres; nous sommes pere et mere ensemble en cette generation."..."Et je ne sçais si je n'aimerois pas mieulx beaucoup en avoir produict un (enfant), parfaictement bien formé, de l'accointance des Muses, que de l'accointance de ma femme. A cettuy cy, tel qu'il est, ce que je donne, je le donne purement et irrevocablement, comme on donne aux enfants corporels..." (*Essais*, II. VIII. *De l'Affection des Peres aux Enfants*; vol. II. pp. 197, 200); "...j'en ai perdu en nourrice deux ou trois, sinon sans regret, au moins sans fascherie" (I. XL.; vol. I. p. 400); "...car je ne m'empesche aculnement de ce gouvernement; la police feminine a un train mysterieux, il fault le leur quitter..." (III. V.; vol. III. pp. 414–5).

3 32. An. Chr[isti 1571] æt. 38, pridie cal. mart., die suo natali,
Mich. Montanus, servitii aulici et munerum publicorum
iamdudum pertæsus, dum se integer in doctarum virginum
recessit sinus, ubi quietus et omnium securus
[quan]tillum id tandem superabit decursi multa jam plus parte
spatii; si modo fata duint exigat istas sedes et dulces latebras,
avitasque libertati suæ, tranquillitatique, et otio consecravit.
(Inscription in the tower. Galy et Lapeyre, *Montaigne chez lui, visite de deux amis à son château*, 1861, p. 36; cited Bonnefon, *Montaigne, l'Homme et l'Œuvre*, p. 126.)

P. 4 2. "...Moy qui n'ay aultre fin que vivre et me resjouïr" (*Essais*, III. v.; vol. III. p. 391). The English is Florio's.

4 16. *Essais*, II. XXXVII.; vol. III. p. 296.

4 20. *Essais*, III. III.; vol. III. p. 358.

P. 5 1. *Essais*, III. IV.; tr. Florio: ed. Nutt, 1892, vol. III. p. 42.

5 10. "Cette fantasie est plus seurement conceue par interrogation: *Que scay-je?* comme je la porte à la devise d'une balance." (*Essais*, II. XII.; vol. II. p. 412.)

5 23. *Essais*, I. LVI.; vol. II. p. 75.

P. 7 29. Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, 2nd ed. vol. VI. p. 5.

P. 8 28. "Qu'iray-je choisir? 'Ce qu'il vous plaira, pourveu que vous choisissiez.' Voylà une sotte response: à laquelle pourtant il me semble que tout le dogmatisme arrive, par qui il ne nous est pas permis d'ignorer ce que nous ignorons" (*Essais*, II. XII.; vol. II. p. 372).

P. 12 10. Bacon is careful to distinguish his method and end from that of the Academics. "It will also be thought that by forbidding men to pronounce and to set down principles as established until they have duly arrived through the intermediate steps at the highest generalities, I maintain a sort of suspension of the judgment, and bring it to what the Greeks call *Acatalepsia*,—a denial of the capacity of the mind to comprehend truth. But in reality that which I meditate and propound is not *Acatalepsia*, but *Eucatalepsia*; not denial of the capacity to understand, but provision for understanding truly; for I do not take away authority from the senses, but supply them with helps; I do not slight the understanding, but govern it." [*Novum Organum*; Aphorism CXXVI. trans. Ellis and Spedding, *Phil. Works of Bacon*, vol. IV. p. 111.]

12 18. Cf. ch. XII. p. 223 seq.

P. 13 10. "Et la treuve et prisable et commode, voire en son dernier decours, où je la tiens." (*Essais*, III. XIII.; vol. IV. p. 230.) The English rendering is Florio's.

P. 14 11. L'Aucteur au Lecteur: *Essais*, vol. I. p. 1.

14 23. "Je peins principalement mes cogitations... Ce ne sont mes gestes que j'escris; c'est moy, c'est mon essence" (*Essais*, II. VI.; vol. II. pp. 161, 162).

CHAPTER II.

P. 16 1. "Je nasquis entre unze heures et midi, le dernier jour de febvrier, mille cinq cents trente trois, comme nous comptons à cette heure, commenceant l'an en janvier" (*Essais*, I. XIX.; vol. I. p. 91).

16 8. "Le mardi 22e jour de mars 1594, à sept heures du matin, le Roy entra dedans Paris, par la mesme Porte que le feu Roy en estoit sorti. Et fut la ville réduitte en son obéissance, sans saq et sans effusion de sang, fors de quelques lansquenets, qui voulurent mener les mains, et deux ou trois bourgeois de la ville: la vie desquels le Roy dit depuis avoir eu désir de racheter, s'il eust esté en sa puissance, de la somme de cinquante mil escus, pour laisser un singulier tesmoingnage à la postérité que le Roy avoit pris Paris sans le meurtre d'un seul homme" (Pierre de l'Estoile: *Mémoires Journaux*, ed. 1875—1896, vol. VI. p. 185).

16 14. Cf. Egger, *L'Hellénisme en France*; vol. I. pp. 163–5.

P. 17 12. For this and subsequent details cf. Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*; and Dezeimeris, *Renaissance des lettres à Bordeaux au xvi^e^ siècle.*

17 13. The Collège de France had no local habitation until the reign of Henri IV., but March 1530 is the date of the foundation of royal chairs, which was the forestalment of the actual college. Cf. Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France*, ch. III. p. 107 seq.

17 31. "Ce remarquable mouvement des esprits en Guyenne...appartient presque exclusivement à la bourgeoisie bordelaise, et c'est à elle qu'en revient tout l'honneur... Prenez tous les noms qui brillent à Bordeaux d'un éclat plus vif au dix-septième siècle, ou dans la seconde moitié du seizième, et remontez à leur origine, vous trouverez un marchand" (Gaullieur, *loc. cit.* pp. 133–4).

P. 18 22. "Saichent tous presens et advenir que comme Messieurs les soulz maire et juratz de la presente ville et cité de Bordeaux...ayent moyenné et arresté asseoir, fonder et docter un colliege, à l'instar, forme et manyere des collieges de la ville de Paris, affin que les enffans de la dicte ville...puissent estudier et profiter;

"Pour fuir et evader ès grans mises et fournitures qui journellement se font pour les jeunes enffants, que les habitans de la dite ville et d'autres lieux proches envoyent aux escolles à Paris, et les gros despens qui, pour raison de ce, s'ensuyvent à la conduyte des dicts enffans, et qui plus est

sont contrainctz leur bailler precepteur, et tellement et souventes foys advient que les dicts enffants meurent par deffault d'estre panssez et secourruz, en leurs maladies, de leurs parens et amis, et aussi que aucuns n'ont l'avoir ni ne sont oppulans d'eulx entretenir ès escolles en si loingtains pays, dont plusieurs sont recullez et demeurent imbecilles et ignarres, sans aucuns savoir en vertuz ne societé..." (*Procès-verbal* of the foundation of the College of Guyenne, cited by Gaullieur, *loc. cit.* p. 29).

18 25. The 'jurade' remained closely concerned in the government of the college. The relations were not without friction, shown on one occasion by the somewhat comic complaints of an impertinent game played by the schoolboys. The jurade brought the matter before the Parlement. "Le 5 mars 1556, les jurats ont remonstré en la Grand-Chambre que dimanche dernier au collège de la Vile, duquel ils sont fondateurs, auroient esté joués plusieurs jeux diffamatoires, aiant mis au bout des batons qu'aucuns portoient des formes de ratz disants: Rats, pelés, et puis les jetoient par terre, disants: *Vous irés jus rats pelés;* suppliants la cour y mettre ordre et leur en faire faire reparation." (Metivier, *Chronique du Parlement de Bordeaux*, vol. II. p. 138.)

The Court took occasion to ordain that all games, comedies or tragedies, played at the college should first be submitted to their inspection.

P. 19 5. *Essais*, I. XXV.; vol. I. pp. 246, 249; cf. Gaullieur, *loc. cit.* p. 67 seq.

19 13. *Antoine Gouvéa* is probably best, if not most creditably, remembered as the antagonist of Ramus. But in the eyes of his contemporaries he had many other claims to distinction. De Thou writes of him as "the sole to whom all scholars have with one voice accorded the glory, so rare in this age, of being at once a great Poet, a great Philosopher, and a great Jurist" (*Hist. Univ.* Bk XXXVIII.; éd. La Haye, 1740, vol. III. p. 601).

19 15. *Essais*, I. XXV.; vol. I. p. 244. Rē *Grouchy* or *Gruchius*, cf. Sainte-Marthe, *Elogia*; La Croix du Maine, *Bibliothèque Françoise*; De Thou, Bk LIV.; vol. IV. pp. 715–6; Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, vol. II. p. 44.

19 20. *Guerente*, "qui a commenté Aristote" (*Essais*, I. XXV.; vol. I. p. 244) had, like Grouchy, disputed with Perion, about the right interpretation of Aristotle (cf. De Thou, Bk XXIII.; vol. II. p. 715).

19 22. Rē *Mathurin Cordier*, cf. Massebieau, *Les Colloques Scolaires du seizième siècle*, pp. 205 seq.

19 25. A thin volume of the Latin letters of Fabricius (*Arnoldi Fabricii, Vasatenis,...Epistolæ aliquot*), in company with those of Gelida, successor at Bordeaux to Gouvéa, was published in 1571 at La Rochelle; the

letters of Britannus (*Roberti Britanni Atrebatalis Epistolarum Libri Duo*) in 1540 at Paris.

P. 20 3. Epithet first given to Buchanan in the Estiennes' edition of his paraphrase of the psalms.

20 5. Joseph Scaliger's judgement on him is as follows: "il a parlé mieux Latin, qu'aucun autre qui soit, les Italiens l'ont admiré; tout ce qu'il a fait est bon... C'estait un tres grand homme que Muret, et qui s'est moqué des Ciceroniens, et cependant parle fort Ciceroniennement, sans s'y astreindre comme les autres: après Cicéron il n'y a personne qui parle mieux Latin que Muret, et les plus belles epistres sont celles qui luy coustent le moins...Mureto nullus fuit post Ciceronem qui expeditius loqueretur et scriberet Romanè..." (*Scaligerana*, art. *Muret*, ed. 1695, pp. 276–7). Cf. Mark Pattison: "But Muretus' knowledge of antiquity was not extensive when compared with that of Lipsius or Sigonius—his *forte* lay wholly in style or 'eloquence,' as it was then called" (*Essays*, vol. I. p. 125), and Dejob, *Marc. Antoine Muret*, ch. XXI. pp. 370 seq.

20 14. Cf. De Thou, Bk XXXVIII.; vol. III. p. 601; rē relations between magistrates and masters, cf. Dezeimeris, *loc. cit.* pp. 20 seq. and notes.

P. 21 20. "*Michaeli Montano...Petri F. Grimundi N. Remundi Pron.*" (cited Malvezin, *Michel de Montaigne, son origine, sa famille*, Bordeaux, 1875, p. 35). M. Malvezin gives, in this work, the results of a most thorough investigation of deeds and documents relative to the Essayist's family. He is at some pains to disprove the notion, based on two passages in the *Essays*, that the Eyquems were of English extraction, and he establishes the existence of Eyquems in Guyenne before the English occupation. The English reader may be permitted a regret that M. Malvezin has not, in the course of inquiries leading into remote and complicated ramifications, come across any trace of that English cousinship referred to by the Essayist: "...une nation," he says of the English, "à laquelle ceux de mon quartier ont eu autrefois une si privee accointance, qu'il reste encore en ma maison aucunes traces de nostre ancien cousinage" (*Essais*, II. XII.; vol. II. p. 505), and again: "Et si les miens se sont autrefois surnommez Eyquem, surnom qui touche encores une maison cogneue en Angleterre" (II. XVI.; vol. III. p. 37). (Florio, be it observed, made bold to insert the alternative form of *Higham*: "And my Ancestors have here-to-fore been surnamed Higham or Eyquem...") On the other hand, M. Malvezin opens up a new vein of speculation, for those interested in race affinities, by his discovery of Jewish blood in Montaigne's mother, Anthoinette de Louppes.

21 32. The French translation, by Colletet, of the *Elogia*, describes

him as "fils d'un chevalier des Ordres du Roy," and speaks of "les armes, dont sa famille avoit toujours fait profession de Père en Fils." (*Eloges*; 1644, p. 150.) Sainte-Marthe's Latin is less rhetorical, but gives the same impression that the military profession was his natural and proper one. There is clearly an identification of the Essayist's family with that of the Montaignes from whom the Eyquems had bought the property.

P. **22** 2. *Scaligerana*; art. Monsieur de *Montagnes*, ed. 1695; p. 269.

22 15. "Ainsi, je ne me puis dire nul grand mercy de quoy je me treuve exempt de plusieurs vices.. ...je le dois plus à ma fortune qu'à ma raison. Elle m'a faict naistre d'une race fameuse en preud'hommie, et d'un tres-bon pere" (*Essais*, II. XI.; vol. II. pp. 239–40); "Je suis nay d'une famille qui a coulé sans esclat et sans tumulte, et, de longue memoire, particulierement ambitieuse de preud'hommie" (III. X.; vol. IV. p. 177); "Comme j'ay veu, de mon temps, plusieurs jeunes hommes, de bonne maison, si addonnez au larrecin, que nulle correction les en pouvoit destourner..." (*Essais*, II. VIII.; vol. II. p. 175); "Nostre verité de maintenant, ce n'est pas ce qui est, mais ce qui se persuade à aultruy..... car la dissimulation est des plus notables qualitez de ce siecle" (*Essais*, II. XVIII.; vol. III. p. 104).

22 20. Cf. ch. V. p. 78.

22 25. "...Et si suis fils d'un pere tresdispos, et d'une alaigresse qui lui dura jusques à son extreme vieillesse. Il ne trouva gueres homme de sa condition qui s'egualast à luy en tout exercice de corps..." (*Essais*, II. XVII.; vol. III. p. 62); "...pour un homme de petite taille, plein de vigueur, et d'une stature droicte et bien proportionnee;...adroict et exquis en touts nobles exercices. J'ay veu encores des cannes farcies de plomb, desquelles on dict qu'il exerceoit ses bras pour se preparer à ruer la barre ou la pierre, ou à l'escrime; et des souliers aux semelles plombees, pour s'alleger au courir et au saulter. Du primsault, il a laissé en memoire de petits miracles: je l'ay veu, par de là soixante ans, se mocquer de nos alaigresses, se jecter avecques sa robbe fourree sur un cheval, faire le tour de la table sur son poulce, ne monter gueres en sa chambre, sans s'eslancer trois ou quatre degrez à la fois" (II. II.; vol. II. p. 104); rē Pierre Eyquem's devotion to the public service, cf. *Essais*, III. X.; vol. IV. pp. 149–50.

22 28. "La forme propre, et seule, et essentielle, de noblesse en France, c'est la vacation militaire" (*Essais*, II. VII.; vol. II. p. 169).

P. **23** 10. Cf. Malvezin, *loc. cit.* pp. 94–5, 277.

23 24. *Essais*, II. XII.; vol. II. pp. 254–5.

23 27. "A l'âge de seize ans, en 1511, il composa une pièce de vers

latins dediée à Jehan de Durfort-Duras. Ces vers furent imprimés en 1512: ils portent en tête

Petrus Eyquem Burdigalensis, generoso adolescenti
Johanni de Duras
Carmen Simonideum."

(Malvezin, *loc. cit.* p. 91.)

P. 24 19. *Privilege*, cited in French translation, by Egger, *loc. cit.* vol. I. pp. 166–7. The privilege was granted only in 1539, but, like the Collège de France, was the belated expression of hopes conceived in the full flush of the literary revival.

P. 25 6. *Dialogus Fabri Stapulensis in physicam introductionem*; Massebieau. *Mémoires et Documents Scolaires, publiés par le Musée Pédagogique*, fasc. no. 2, pp. 17, 18.

25 19. Fabricius sends greetings to him, *Epistolæ*...VIII. In 1537, he was concerned, as sub-mayor, with the procurance of letters of nationalization for Gouvéa. (Cf. Gaullieur, *loc. cit.*; Pièces justificatives, no. 7.)

25 32. Montaigne expressly states that his father had brought his plan of education from Italy, and that his lapse into the more commonplace method of sending his son to school was in part due to want of encouragement ("n'ayant plus autour de lui ceulx qui luy avoient donné ces premières institutions, qu'il avoit apportées d'Italie." *Essais*, I. XXV.; vol. I. p. 246). The scheme was thus not thought of for Michel's express benefit, but Michel—born three years after his father's marriage, and the first child to survive extreme infancy—afforded the earliest occasion for the scheme to be put in practice.

P. 26 31. *Essais*, III. XIII.; vol. IV. p. 309.

P. 27 26. *Essais*, I. XXV.; vol. I. pp. 242 seq. Cf. this essay, *De l'Institution des Enfants* for the whole ensuing account. The strong hold that Latin, thus inculcated, took on his mind, is shown in his later statement: "Le langage latin m'est comme naturel; je l'entends mieulx que le françois: mais il y a quarante ans que je ne m'en suis du tout point servy à parler ny gueres à escrire. Si est ce qu'à des extremes et soubdaines esmotions, où je suis tumbé deux ou trois fois en ma vie, et l'une, veoyant mon pere, tout sain, se renverser sur moy pasmé, j'ay tousjours eslancé du fond des entrailles les premieres paroles, latines." (*Essais*, III. II.; vol. III. pp. 336–7.)

P. 28 8. Cf. Henri Estienne's edition of *Aulus Gellius*, 1585: dedication to his son, cited Mark Pattison, *Essays*, vol. I. p. 71.

28 13. The advice was given by Vivès, *De Ratione puerilis studii ad Catharinam reginam Angliæ*, t. I. p. 6; cited Massebieau, *Les Colloques Scolaires du Seizième Siècle*, pp. 44, 45.

28 15. *Colloquia*, Bk II. col. XLIV.

28 25. *Essais*, II. VIII.; vol. II. p. 177. The *Mémoires* etc. of the time are full of instances that show how completely the use of the rod was a matter of course—thus Scaliger: "Je n'avois que 8 ans, lors que je tins ma sœur au baptesme, et le mesme jour mon Pere me donna le foüet, à son Compere." (Scaligerana, art. Joseph *Scaliger*, 1669, p. 357.) In the *Mémoires* of Mergey (Petitôt, sér. I. vol. XXXIV) we find a page expecting to be whipped for the loss of his weapon, though he had 'lost' it by valiantly burying it in the body of an enemy. In England, Roger Ascham was singular as a schoolmaster in his avoidance of the rod. Yet even he does not propose to extend this mildness to the department of manners and morals. "The godlie counsels of Salomon and Jesus the son of Sirach, for sharpe kepinge in, and bridleinge of youth, are ment rather, for fatherlie correction, then masterlie beating, rather for maners, than for learning: for other places, than for scholes. For God forbid, but all evill touches, wantonnes, lyinge, pickinge, slouthe, will, stubburnnesse, and disobedience, shold be with sharpe chastisement, daily cut away." (*Scholemaster*, The first booke; ed. Mayor, G. Bell and Sons, p. 98.)

28 29. "Il me faisoit esveiller par le son de quelque instrument, et avoit un joüeur d'espinette pour cet effect" (*Essais*, I. XXV.; ed. 1580; Dezeimeris et Barckhausen, vol. I. p. 127). The specification of the instrument is omitted in the subsequent editions.

P. 29 23. "Et Nicolas Grouchy, qui a escript *de comitiis Romanorum*; Guillaume Guerente, qui a commenté Aristote; George Buchanan, ce grand poëte escossois; Marc. Antoine Muret, que la France et l'Italie recognoist pour le meilleur orateur du temps, mes precepteurs domestiques....." (*Essais*, I. XXV.; vol. I. p. 244–5). *Muret* does not figure in this list until after the Essayist's visit in 1581 to Rome, where he met Muret (*Journal de Voyage*, ed. 1774, 12°. vol. II. p. 152; cf. *Essais*, 1580; Dez. et Barck. vol. I. p. 120). But neither this, nor the difficulty of reconciling dates (cf. Dejob, *Marc. Antoine Muret*, pp. 13–16), justifies Mark Pattison's dismissal of the passage as a simple 'gasconnade' (Mark Pattison, *Essays*, vol. I. p. 126). By 'precepteurs domestiques' is meant evidently, not private home tutors, but those school-tutors to whom, as the practice was, small groups of boys were more especially entrusted. And although Montaigne is certainly stating the case loosely, when he includes Muret as 'precepteur domestique' on the same level with the others, the passage must be accepted as implying direct personal relations of a similar kind; cf. ch. III. p. 47 and Bonnefon, *Michel de Montaigne, l'Homme et l'Œuvre*, pp. 54, 55.

P. 31 4. *Essais*, II. VIII.; vol. II. p. 177.

31 31. Sainte-Marthe; *Eloges*, transl. by Colletet, 1644, pp. 108–9.

P. 32 5. "...Who in his youth hath tasted nothing but the paring, and seen but the superficies of true learning," is Florio's picturesque paraphrase for the French, "qui n'a gousté des sciences que la crouste premiere en son enfance..." (*Essais*, I. XXV.; vol. I. p. 194). Rē the Scaligers at the Collège de Guyenne, cf. Bourrousse de Laffore, *Jules-César de Lescale*, Agen 1860, p. 32 *et passim*.

32 7. *Schola Aquitanica, programme d'études du Collège de Guyenne au xvi^e^ siècle*, publ. by Louis Massebieau. (*Mémoires et Documents Scolaires*: Fasc. 7.) At the time (1583) when Elie Vinet (a philologist and antiquarian of no small local repute; cf. De Thou, Bk LXXXVIII.; vol. VII. p. 58, and *Mémoires*, vol. XI. p. 44) drew up the programme, the school was threatened in its prosperity by the rivalry of the newly-founded Jesuit College. The publication would seem to have been an effort at once to restore the Collège de Guyenne to its former excellence and to make that excellence more widely known. A special interest attaches to it from the fact that Montaigne, then mayor (*Michaël Montanus Regii ordinis Eques, Major*), figures, with the town council, as authorizing and recommending the speedy publication, "*quo disciplina, adhuc observata in suo Burdigalen. Gymnasio, notior evadat, nec facile usquam depravetur.*"

32 32. In his work *De corrupti sermonis emendatione libellus*; cited by Massebieau, *Les Colloques Scolaires*, pp. 27, 209 seq.

P. 34 5. *Schola Aquitanica*, pp. 6, 7.

34 14. *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9.

34 23. *De Pædagógis.* "Pædagógi pueros suos in officio contineant, nec tamen caedant, ne a litteris absterreantur: sed si quid dignum pœnæ commiserint, de hoc ad nos, aut aliquem ex præceptoribus referant." (*Ibid.*, p. 40.)

P. 35 25. "Si bene ipsi (the pedagogues) legere aut cantare, aut scribere noverint: hæc doceant subsecivis temporibus..." (*Ibid.*, p. 40.)

P. 36 8. "...Je fu mis au Collége de Bourgoigne dèz l'an 1542, en la troisiesme classe: puys je fu un an, peu moins, de la première...Je trouve que ces dix huict moys du Collége me firent assez de bien. J'apris à répéter, disputer et haranguer en public, pris cognoissance d'honnestes enfans dont aucuns vivent aujourd'huy, apris la vie frugale de la scolarité et à règler mes heures; tellement que, sortant de là, je récitay en public quelques oraisons latines et grecques de ma composition et présentay plusieurs vers latins et deux mil vers faicts selon l'aage, *récitay Homère par cœur d'un bout à l'autre.*" (E. Fremy, *Mémoires inédits de Henri de Mesmes*, pp. 136–7.)

36 26. Cumberland's *Memoirs*, cited Jebb, *Life of Bentley*, p. 3.

P. 38 9. "J'ai veu chez moy un mien amy, par maniere de passetemps,

ayant affaire à un de ceulx cy, contrefaire un jargon de galimatias, propos sans suitte tissu de pieces rapportees, sauf qu'il estoit souvent entrelardé de mots propres à leur dispute, amuser ainsi tout un jour ce sot à desbattre, pensant tousjours respondre aux objections qu'on luy faisoit; et si, estoit homme de lettres et de reputation, et qui avoit une belle robbe." (*Essais*, I. XXIV.; vol. I. p. 184.) "Cettuy cy, tout pituiteux, chassieux et crasseux, que tu veois sortir aprez minuict d'un estude, penses tu qu'il cherche parmy les livres comme il se rendra plus homme de bien, plus content et plus sage? nulles nouvelles: il y mourra, ou il apprendra à la posterité la mesure des vers de Plaute, et la vraye orthographe d'un mot latin." (I. XXXVIII.; vol. I. p. 360.)

38 32. Cf. e.g. Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, Bk VII. ch. X.

P. 39 8. In anatomy, the process is exemplified by Silvius and Vesales. The advance of Silvius was from the Arabic commentators to the pure doctrine of Galen, and he exposed the human anatomy, methodically, according to Galen. "Sed in hoc illi sua diligentia quodammodo fuit fraudi, quod cum magistro suo Galeno prorsum addictus nusquam ab ejus sententia vel minimum discederet, aemulum in hoc negotio nactus est Vesalum, qui liberiore ingenio exactam rei veritatem secutus aliquanto splendidius hanc medicinæ partem explicare visus est." (Sammarthani Scævolæ *Elogiorum* Liber I. p. 24.) And in ichthyology there is a similar progress from Pellicier, who annotated and corrected Pliny, to his pupil Rondelet, who went straight to the 'spoils of the sea.'

39 15. "...Je sçay bien qu'aucuns se moquent, en disant qu'il est impossible qu'un homme destitué de la langue latine puisse avoir intelligence des choses naturelles, et diront que c'est à moy grande temerité d'escrire contre l'opinion de tant de philosophes fameux et anciens, lesquels ont escrits des effets naturels et rempli toute la terre de sagesse. Je sçay aussi qu'autres jugeront selon l'exterieur, disans que je ne suis qu'un pauvre artisan.....et, pour couper bouche à toutes calomnies et embusches, j'ay dressé un cabinet auquel j'ay mis plusieurs choses admirables et monstrueuses que j'ay tirées de la matrice de la Terre, lesquelles rendent tesmoignage certain de ce que je dis, et ne se trouvera homme qui ne soit contraint confesser iceux véritables après qu'il aura veu les choses, que j'ai préparées en mon cabinet pour rendre certains tous ceux qui ne voudroyent autrement adjouster foy à mes escrits..." (Bernard Palissy, *Discours admirables de la nature des eaux et fontaines tant naturelles qu'artificielles, des Metaux, des Sels et Salines, des Pierres, des Ferres, du Feu et des Emaux, avec plusieurs autres excellens secrets des choses naturelles. Le tout dressé par dialogues esquel sont introduit la Theorique et la Pratique.* 1580. Advertisement aux lecteurs.)

39 24. Cf. *Essais*, II. XII.; vol. II. pp. 491–2. Pascal noted this 'ignorance' of Montaigne (*Pensées*, ed. Louandre, p. 394).

P. 40 15. *Essais*, II. XVII.; vol. III. p. 82.

40 30. "Mais qui se presente comme dans un tableau cette grande image de nostre mère nature en son entière majesté; qui lit en son visage une si générale et constante varieté; qui se remarque là dedans, et non soy, mais tout un royaume, comme un trait d'une poincte très délicate, celui-là seul estime les choses selon leur juste grandeur." (*Essais*, I. XXV.; vol. I. p. 216.) "Que l'homme contemple donc la nature entière dans sa haute et pleine majesté; qu'il éloigne sa vue des objets bas qui l'environnent; qu'il regarde cette éclatante lumière mise comme une lampe éternelle pour éclairer l'univers; que la terre lui paraisse comme un point, au prix du vaste tour que cet astre décrit; et qu'il s'étonne de ce que ce vaste tour lui-même n'est qu'un point très-délicat à l'égard de celui que les astres qui roulent dans le firmament embrassent. Mais si nostre vue s'arrête là, que l'imagination passe outre: elle se lassera plus tôt de concevoir que la nature de fournir. Tout ce monde visible n'est qu'un trait imperceptible dans l'ample sein de la nature.....Que l'homme, étant revenu à soi, considère ce qu'il est au prix de ce qui est; qu'il se regarde comme égaré dans ce canton détourné de la nature; et que, de ce petit cachot où il se trouve logé, j'entends l'univers, il apprenne à estimer la terre, les royaumes, les villes et soi-même son juste prix." (Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Louandre, p. 117.)

P. 43 10. *Essais*, III. XIII.; vol. IV. pp. 276–7.

43 20. *Scholemaster*, G. Bell and Sons, 1895, p. 85. The proverb is quoted also *Essais*, I. XXIV.; vol. I. p. 175.

43 32. La Noue, *Discours Politiques et Militaires*, 1587. Cinquiéme Discours: De la Bonne Nourriture et institution qu'il est necessaire de donner aux jeunes gentilshommes Français.

P. 44 13. Cf. *Mémoires of the Duc de Bouillon*. "Sur les six ans de mon âge on me donna un gouverneur, nommé Villemontée, un precepteur, un valet de chambre et un page; ledit Villemontée se trouva d'humeur colere et bizarre, qui fut occasion qu'il demeura peu de temps près de moy: mon precepteur commença à m'enseigner la langue latine et les premiers rudiments de la sphere et des cartes, à quoy je profitois beaucoup à l'un et l'autre, et avec plaisir."

The Duc de Bouillon's second governor played something of the part that Montaigne would give his ideal governor, though with a narrower aim. "Ceux de la religion se logerent à St Denis, où depuis jusques à l'onzieme de Novembre que se donna la bataille de St Denis, se passerent diverses occurrences de guerre où je n'avois aucune part, sinon que mon

gouverneur m'invitoit d'écouter et retenir ce que s'en disoit, remarquer les louanges qu'on donnoit à ceux qui faisoient quelques actes de courage, et au contraire le blasme de ceux qui faisoient peu vaillamment "afin," me disoit-il, "qu'étant en âge vous puissiez faire vostre profit de ce qu'avez à cette heure apris." (Petitôt, vol. XXXV. pp. 54–5, 62.)

44 15. The Essay is dedicated to Mlle Diane de Foix, Comtesse de Gurson. "Or, madame, si j'avoy quelque suffisance en ce subject, je ne pourroy la mieux employer que d'en faire un present à ce petit homme qui vous menace de faire tantost une belle sortie de chez vous (vous estes trop genereuse pour commencer aultrement que par un masle)." (*Essais*, I. XXV.; vol. I. p. 199.)

CHAPTER III.

P. 46 6. *Essais*, I. XXV.; vol. I. p. 226.

46 13. "...Et ne me servit cette mienne inaccoustumee institution, que de me faire enjamber d'arrivee aux premieres classes; car, à treize ans que je sortis du college, j'avois achevé mon cours (qu'ils appellent), et, à la verité, sans aulcun fruict que je peusse à present mettre en compte." (*Essais*, I. XXV.; vol. I. p. 247.)

P. 47 9. Cf. Bonnefon, *Montaigne, l'Homme et l'Œuvre*, pp. 50 seq. and *supra* p. 240, note to ch. II. p. 29, l. 23.

47 15. Cf. Grün, *La Vie Publique de Montaigne*, 1855, pp. 64 seq.; Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* pp. 56 seq. The arguments for or against are given in full by both these writers. It must, however, be remarked that one argument—that drawn from the students known to have been then at Toulouse—tells both ways. Several of these students are known, either by allusion in the *Essays* or otherwise, to have been acquaintances later of Montaigne, and, as his biographers argue, the acquaintance may very well have been begun at college. But, on the other hand, one of these—Henri de Mesmes—gives in his *Memoirs* a brief list of his distinguished contemporary students, and does not include Montaigne.

47 30. Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, Bk IX. ch. XXXIX.

P. 48 14. Cf. Dareste, *Essai sur François Hotman*, 1849, pp. 17 seq.

48 31. "Il me souvient que la première cognoissance que j'eus de luy, fust en la boutique d'un Libraire: où disputant d'un lieu de Papinian *de inofficioso testamento*, il se rendit d'autant plus admirable qu'il estoit si jeune, que nous l'appellions ordinairement le petit Pithou." (Loisel, *Opuscules*, 1652, *Vie de M. Pithou*, p. 256.)

P. 49 4. "André Alciat,...comme il lisoit à Pavie, où il étoit professeur, interprétant les loix civiles des Romains, expliquant les plus

obscurs passages et conciliant les opinions contraires des anciens jurisconsultes,...tomba par cas fortuit sur une question très difficile, qui fut depuis disputée publiquement, en laquelle nostre Pibrac fit des merveilles et contenta tellement l'assemblée que ce grand homme n'eut point de honte de confesser ingénuement devant tous les auditeurs qu'il rendoit les armes à ce jeune champion, duquel pour en avoir lors remarqué la subtilité à disputer, la facilité à parler, la memoire à citer tant de loix, et un savoir si universel, il en admira les rares qualitez, et à force de l'admirer l'ayma passionnément; et, ce qui est un grand aiguillon à la vertu, le louoit ordinairement." (*Vie de Pibrac*, par Ch. Pascal; Cimber et Danjou: *Archives Curieuses*, 1re Série, vol. x. p. 230.)

49 8. Pasquier, *Lettres*, Bk XIX. *Lettre* XIII.

P. 50 24. François Hotman, *Antitribonian*, pp. 23, 32.

50 27. "Car nous ne parlons point des plaintes vulgaires que l'on a commencé de faire depuis environ 40 ou 50 ans contre la sophisterie des chaffoureurs. Nous ne parlons point de l'asnerie et barbarie des Canonistes, de la desbauche et dissolution des jeunes gens. Nous ne parlons point de l'avarice et impudence d'aucuns Docteurs, qui font trafic des degrez et honneurs scholastiques, et les vendent à prix d'argent, comme une marchandise publicque. Nous ne parlons point du prix et taxation desdits degrez, faite et ordonnee par les Papes, qu'aucuns tiennent pour chefs et patrons desdites Universités, jusques à la somme de trois mil tournois d'argent. Nous parlons du vice naturel et du defaut interieur qui est en la matiere et substance de la discipline: lequel est bien plus difficile à corriger que les corruptions qui y sont arrivees par accidens exterieurs." (*Ibid.* p. 92.)

P. 51 6. *Ibid.* p. 76.

51 14. *Ibid.* p. 85.

51 23. *Ibid.* pp. 38–9.

51 30. *Ibid.* pp. 85 seq.

P. 52 15. *Ibid.* pp. 89–90.

P. 53 17. *Essais*, III. XIII.; vol. IV. pp. 250 seq. Cf. also "...la plus part des occasions des troubles du monde sont grammairiennes; nos procez ne naissent que du debat de l'interpretation des loix..." (II. XII.; vol. II. p. 411) *et passim*.

P. 54 6. *Essais*, III. XIII.; vol. IV. pp. 248 seq.

54 30. Hotman, *loc. cit.* pp. 107 seq.

P. 55 21. *Scholae Mathematicae*, I. II. sub fin.: cited by Waddington, *Ramus, sa Vie, ses Ecrits et ses Opinions*, p. 356.

55 30. The *Antitribonian* was written in the midst of the civil troubles, about the year 1567. Cf. Dareste, *François Hotman, d'après sa*

correspondance inédite. (Rev. Hist., July—Sept. 1876.) Montaigne, who was on friendly terms with Hotman in 1581 (cf. *Journal de Voyage*, ed. 1774, in 3 vols. 12mo.; vol. I. pp. 49, 184), may perfectly well have had an earlier acquaintance with him in Paris.

P. 56 26. Hotman, *loc. cit.* pp. 92 seq.

56 30. As, e.g. in the following passage, comparing natural with 'scholastic' virtue or 'preud'hommie'; "Je l'ayme telle que les loix et religions non facent, mais parfacent et auctorisent; qui se sente dequoy se soubstenir sans ayde; nee en nous de ses propres racines, par la semence de la raison universelle, empreinte en tout homme non desnaturé." (*Essais*, III. XII.; vol. IV. p. 240.) For a contrary utterance cf. I. XXII.; vol. I. p. 144 ("Les loix de la conscience, que nous disons naistre de nature, naissent de la coustume...").

P. 57 12. L'Hôpital, *Traité de la Réformation de Justice* (Dufey, *Œuvres inédites de l'Hôpital*, Paris, 1825), Bk I. p. 22.

57 19. Hotman, *loc. cit.* p. 108.

P. 58 8. *Essais*, II. XIII.; vol. II. pp. 506–7.

P. 59 10. *Essais*, II. XII.; vol. II. pp. 508, 513.

CHAPTER IV.

P. 60 5. Cf. L'Hôpital, *Traité de la Réformation de Justice*, Pt VI.

60 10. "J'ai ouï parler d'un juge, lequel, où il rencontroit un aspre conflict entre Bartolus et Baldus, et quelque matiere agitee de plusieurs contrarietez, mettoit en marge de son livre, 'Question pour l'amy': c'est à dire que la verité estoit si embrouillee et debattue, qu'en pareille cause il pourroit favoriser celle des parties que bon luy sembleroit. Il ne tenoit qu'à faulte d'esprit et de suffisance, qu'il ne peust mettre par tout, 'Question pour l'amy': les advocats et les juges de nostre temps treuvent à toutes causes assez de biais pour les accomoder où bon leur semble." (*Essais*, II. XII.; vol. II. pp. 511–2.)

60 16. "*Regnum judiciale.*" Hotman, *Franco-Gallia*, ch. XX.; cf. L'Hôpital, *loc. cit.*, Pt IV.; Pasquier, *Lettres*, Bk IX. *Lettre* V. seq.

P. 61 9. Pasquier, *Lettres*, Bk VII. *Lettre* X.

61 16. Cf. Boscheron des Portes, *Histoire du Parlement de Bordeaux*, vol. I. pp. 100–1.

61 27. Cf. Grün, *La Vie Publique de Montaigne*, pp. 67–71; Bonnefon, *Montaigne, l'Homme et l'Œuvre*, pp. 66 seq. The rule of age was overlooked, e.g. in the case of La Boetie (cf. Metivier, *Chronique du Parlement de Bordeaux*, vol. II. pp. 63–4), and also of Henri de Mesmes,

who was admitted to the Cour-des-Aides in Paris at the age of twenty. (Cf. Fremy, *Mémoires inédits de H. de Mesmes*, p. 147.)

P. 62 2. Metivier, *Chronique du Parlement de Bordeaux*, publ. by the Société des Bibliophiles de Guyenne, 1887, vol. II. p. 175.

62 4. "Ordonnance du Parlement sur une question de préséance entre les généraux des Aides et le conseiller Sarran de Lalanne." (*Archives Historiques de la Gironde*, vol. VI. p. 7, cited Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* p. 74.)

62 16. Cf. Metivier, *loc. cit.* vol. II. pp. 181, 189 seq., 193 seq., 202 seq. *et passim*; Boscheron des Portes, *loc. cit.* pp. 103–112; and Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* ch. III. pp. 63–76, where a full account of the matter is given.

62 31. *Essais*, I. XXII.; vol. I. pp. 147, 148.

P. 63 7. "...A Bourdeaux ils ne se soucient que d'estre des premiers à la procession. A Bourdeaux du temps de mon Père entre 60 Senateurs il y en avait plus de 20 habiles et doctes personnages" (*Scaligerana*, art. *Bordeaux*, ed. 1695, p. 65). The period of Montaigne's magistracy must be taken as intermediate between the two conditions.

63 10, 15. "An 1552...Au mesme temps Arnaud de Ferron, Conseiller du Roy en la cour de Parlement de Bourdeaux, fait paroistre sa doctrine és bonnes lettres, et en droict, comme font pareillement les sieurs de Brassac, Pomiers, Alesmes, Malvin, Gaultier, et la Chassaigne le jeune, lumieres du Senat... An 1557. Christophle de Roffignac, President en la Cour, met en lumiere ses livres en matiere beneficiale." (De Lurbe, *Chronique Bourdeloise*, ed. 1703, p. 31.)

63 18. Cf. Boscheron des Portes, *loc. cit.* p. 164; Gaullieur, *Histoire de la Réformation à Bordeaux*, vol. I. p. 121.

63 25. Montaigne was already connected with the Chassaignes, through the marriage of his uncle, Raymond, with Adrienne de la Chassaigne, daughter of Geoffrey de la C., magistrate. For an account of the uncle, Raymond, cf. Malvezin, *Michel de Montaigne, son origine, sa famille*, pp. 73 seq., 79.

63 28. Lagebaston was on ill terms with the king's lieutenant, Descars, —and when some question arose of prerogative, Descars objected first to Lagebaston as officiating judge, and Lagebaston in his turn objected to submit the point to the magistrates, naming eleven of them—Montaigne among the number—as 'friends and intimates' of Descars. Upon this, Montaigne "expressed himself," says a contemporary, "with all the vivacity of his character," and went away, declaring that he could 'name' the whole court. He was recalled to explain his words—"Sur quoi ledit Eyquem a dit qu'il n'avoit aucune affection en la présente matière ni inimitié aucune contre le premier president. Ains sont amis et l'a été ledit premier president

de tous ceux de la maison dudit Eyquem; mais voyant l'ouverture mauvaise que l'on faisoit à la justice, que *jacta erat alea*, et que l'on recevoit les accusés contre les arrets de la Cour, à récuser d'autres juges qui n'y avoient nul interet non plus que lui; il avoit dit que si cela étoit permis, il pourroit ainsi récuser toute la Cour, mais n'entendit pour cela nommer aucun, et se départoit de son dire en ce qu'il avoit nommé toute la Cour"—(*Registres secrets du Parlement de Bordeaux*. Extraits. Coll. Payen, 711.) The incident is mentioned by Grün, *loc. cit.* p. 101, and more fully by Payen in his *Examen de La Vie Publique de Montaigne, par M. Grün*, Paris 1856. The 'registres secrets' of the Parlement are records which were kept officially by the clerks for purposes of reference, and are now chiefly preserved through extracts made by individual magistrates for private use. The *Chronique du Parlement* by Metivier, already cited, is mainly composed of such extracts.

63 31. "L'étendue de son ressort était considérable. Il comprenait: le Bordelais, la Gascoigne, La Guienne, les Landes, l'Agénais, le Bazadais, le Périgord, le Limousin, et la Saintonge...Il suivait généralement le droict écrit. Cependant, plusieurs coutumes existaient dans son ressort: c'étaient les Coutumes: de Bordeaux, de Saint Jean d'Angély,.....et de Bayonne. Toutes ces Coutumes avaient été homologuées et consacrées par le Parlement." (Brezetz, *Le Parlement de Bordeaux*, 1856, p. 7.) Cf. Boscheron des Portes, *loc. cit.* vol. I. p. 37.

P. 64 30. It is probably this incident to which Montaigne alludes: "Je veis, en enfance, un gentilhomme, commandant à une grande ville, empressé à l'esmotion d'un peuple furieux: pour esteindre ce commencement de trouble, il print party de sortir d'un lieu tresasseuré où il estoit, et se rendre à cette tourbe mutine; d'où mal luy print, et y feut miserablement tué. Mais il ne me semble pas que sa faulte feust tant d'estre sorty, ainsi qu'ordinairement on le reproche à sa memoire, comme ce feut d'avoir prins une voye de soubmission et de mollesse, et d'avoir voulu endormir cette rage plustost en suyvant qu'en guidant, en requerant plustost qu'en remontrant; et estime qu'une gracieuse severité, avecques un commandement militaire plein de securité et de confiance, convenable à son reng et à la dignité de sa charge, luy eust mieulx succedé, au moins avecques plus d'honneur et de bienseance." (*Essais*, I. XXIII.; vol. I. p. 170.)

P. 65 7. *Histoire de nostre temps*, par maistre Guillaume Paradin, Lyon, 1552, p. 682. Cp. Bordenave, *Histoire de Béarn et Navarre*, pp. 47–8; De Lurbe, *Chronique Bordeloise*, An 1548, ed. 1703, pp. 29–31; De Thou, Bk v.; vol. I. pp. 451 seq.

65 10. De Thou gives this origin for the *Contr'un*. (Bk v.; vol. I. p. 458.) It was suggested to him possibly by Lagebaston, from whom—

as also from Montaigne—he drew materials for his History (*Mémoires*, vol. XI. p. 44). Montaigne treats the *Contr'un* as a mere exercise of rhetoric on an ancient theme, and assigns it to a yet earlier epoch. (Cf. ch. V. p. 87 and note.)

65 15. "L'année 1555 entrant en continuant jusques en Aoust 1556... Maire de la Ville Montaigne le vieux...Monsieur le Maire allant en Cour pour les affaires de la Ville luy furent envoyez vingt tonneaux de vin pour faire des presens aux Seigneurs favorables à ladite ville." (*Chronique Bordelaise*. Supplement par Darnal, ed. 1703, p. 71.) Cf. Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* p. 24.

65 31. "Je recouvray secretement deux bourreaulx, qu'on les appeloit mes laquays, parce qu'ilz estoient souvent après moy..." (Monluc, *Commentaires*, ed. Lalanne, vol. II. p. 361).

P. 66 2. *Essais*, II. VI.; vol. II. p. 150.

66 15. Boscheron des Portes, *loc. cit.* vol. I. pp. 139 seq.; Gaullieur, *Histoire de la Réformation à Bordeaux*, vol. I. pp. 27 seq., 61, 118, 320.

66 24. "...Si rien eust deu tenter ma jeunesse, l'ambition du hazard et de la difficulté qui suyvoient cette recente entreprinse, y eust eu bonne part." (*Essais*, I. LVI.; vol. II. p. 70.)

P. 68 3. De Thou, Bk XVII.; vol. II. p. 437.

68 10. Gaullieur, *loc. cit.* pp. 160 seq.

68 16. *Ibid.* p. 40. This as early as the year 1539. The magistrates deputed were Geoffroy de la Chassaigne, Arnaud de Ferron, Briand de Vallée—a choice which ensured a favorable report of the sage's orthodoxy.

68 28. *Archives Historiques de la Gironde*, vol. I. p. 14; Gaullieur, *loc. cit.* p. 97.

P. 70 5. Cf. Weill, *Théories sur le Pouvoir Royal en France pendant les Guerres de Religion*, pp. 287–9.

70 16. For a graphic and succinct account of these events cf. Duc d'Aumâle, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*, vol. I., chs. II. III.; for a more detailed account De Thou, Bks XXII–XXVIII.; vol. II. p. 633–vol. III. p. 105.

P. 71 3. Cf. Metivier, *Chronique du Parlement*, vol. II. pp. 228, 253, 254, 320.

71 15. There was a reported attempt of the Huguenots upon the Château Trompette in 1562. "Audit an le vingt sixiesme Juin l'entreprise des Huguenots sur la Ville et Château Trompette est descouverte par la vigilance du Seigneur de Burie, Lieutenant du Roy, et de la Cour de Parlement, et bon devoir des Maires et Jurats. Plusieurs prevenus de ce mauvais dessein sont executez à mort" (*Chronique Bourdeloise*, p. 31); the *Chronique* gives the year as 1561, apparently an error. Cf. Monluc, *Commentaires*, vol. II. pp. 417 seq. But on the whole, Bordeaux was undisturbed.

71 20. Cf. Letter from the Bordeaux Parlement to the King, 23 Jan. 1560 (1561), announcing that De Burie has selected Raymond Eyquem de Montaigne to accompany him to Marmande and Gontault; and Letter from De Burie to the Queen, 24 Jan. 1560 (1561). (*Archives Hist. de la Gironde*, vol. XIII. pp. 152 seq.)

71 32. "Le 26 novembre 1561, chambre assemblée en deliberation... a été arreté que le roi sera averti ainsi que...De Burie et pour adresser les dites missives à été commis Cristophe de Roffignac, president.....lesquelles missives seront envoyées par Maître Michel Eyquem de Montaigne, s'en allant à la cour pour d'autres affaires.....ledit jour 26 nov. de relevé chambres assemblées les missives.....ont été lues et accordées, eue deliberation et a été arrêté qu'elles seroient écrites ainsi que le president de Roffignac les avoit couchées...et que le greffier les donne et expedie aujourd'hui parceque le dit de Montaigne vouloit partir la nuit comme il disoit." (*Extraits des Registres Secrets*, Coll. Payen, No. 711.) Cf. Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* p. 81. After the departure of Montaigne occurred the murder of De Fumel, also notified by letter to the king.

P. 72 13. Monluc, *Commentaires*, vol. II. pp. 342 seq. A comparison of this passage with the *Registres Secrets* above cited, would suggest, as probable inference, that Montaigne was the bearer of the first of these pieces of news, viz. the Huguenot rising at Marmande.

72 16. Many of the reformers were killed, others led "à la place publique et illec inhumainement massacrés et faict cruellement dévorer aux pourceaux, faisans..." (Report of De Burie, 15 Nov. 1561; cited Monluc, *loc. cit.* vol. II. p. 342 note); cf. Montaigne *Essais*, I. XXX.; vol. I. p. 314.

72 27. "On pouvoit congnoistre par là où j'estois passé, car par les arbres, sur les chemins, on en trouvoit les enseignes. Ung pendu estonnoit plus que cent thués. (Monluc, *Commentaires*, vol. II. p. 442.)

72 30. Cf. De Thou, Bk XXXI. vol. III. pp. 231–2.

P. 73 5. Cf. *Extraits des Registres Secrets*, Coll. Payen, No. 711; Grün, *loc. cit.* p. 119; Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* p. 81. The two exceptions are the incidents already alluded to—his taking up the cudgels for the rights of the Périgeux members, and his resentment, in the dispute with Lagebaston, of a slight cast upon his impartiality. An allusion in 1559 to an Eyquem de Montaigne as absent "pour le service du roi et par le congé de la cour" (Metivier, *loc. cit.* vol. II. p. 272) has, I think erroneously, been taken as referring to the Essayist (cf. Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* p. 76). It is almost certainly the uncle, Raymond, who was one of the members deputed to convey the Parlement's duty and congratulations to Francis II, on his accession. (Cf. Letter from Parlement of Bordeaux to Francis II, 31 July 1559.

Archives Historiques de la Gironde, vol. XIII. p. 120.) The younger magistrate travelled very probably in his uncle's company, since he was at Bar-le-Duc, where the Court was, at this time (*Essais*, II. XVII.; vol. III. p. 84); but there is no reason to suppose him entrusted with any official service.

73 14. "...Comme un conseiller de ma cognoissance, ayant desgorgé une battelee de paragraphes, d'une extreme contention, et pareille ineptie, s'estant retiré de la chambre du conseil au pissoir du palais, feut ouï marmotant entre les dents, tout consciencieusement: "*Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam.*" (*Essais*, III. X.; vol. IV. p. 179.)

73 27. "Il y a ici beaucoup de gens de bien, desquels les opinions ne sont suivies; elles ne se pesent point, mais se comptent." (L'Hôpital, *Speech before the Parlement of Bordeaux*, in 1565. Cited Grün, *loc. cit.* p. 110.) Cf. ch. VI. pp. 98–9.

73 30. Cf. Grün, *loc. cit.* p. 99.

P. 74 10. ".....Sçachant M. Estienne de La Boëtie, l'un des plus propres et necessaires hommes aux premieres charges de la France, avoir tout du long de sa vie croupy, mesprisé, ez cendres de son foyer domestique, au grand interest de nostre bien commun....." (Letter to l'Hôpital; *Essais*, vol. IV. p. 367).

74 15. Cf. Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* p. 94.

74 24. Cf. Gaullieur, *loc. cit.* pp. 301 seq.; *Œuvres complètes d'Estienne de La Boëtie*, ed. Bonnefon, Introd. pp. xxviii seq.

P. 75 2. "...Et puis, mon frere, par adventure, n'estois-je point nay si inutile, que je n'eusse moyen de faire service à la chose publicque." (Letter of Montaigne to his father, *Essais*, vol. IV. p. 345.)

75 4. "Je suis de cet advis, Que la plus honorable vacation est de servir au public et estre utile à beaucoup;.....pour mon regard, je m'en despars; partie par conscience (car par où je veois le poids qui touche telles vacations, je veois aussi le peu de moyen que j'ay d'y fournir.....) partie par poltronerie." (*Essais*, III. IX.; vol. IV. pp. 60–1.)

75 19. *Essais*, III. XII; vol. IV. p. 246.

75 27. *Essais*, II. XI; vol. II. p. 245.

75 31. *Essais*, II. V.; vol. II. pp. 143–4.

P. 76 5, 7, 8. *Essais*, II. XI.; vol. II. pp. 243, 245, 248–9.

76 6. "A Bourdeaux, les Conseillers vont voir les celebres executions." (*Scaligerana*, art. *Executions des Criminels*, 1695, p. 150.)

76 11. Cf. *Essais*, I. LV.; vol. II. pp. 62 seq; III. IX; vol. IV. pp. 114, 116–7; III. XIII; vol. IV. p. 317; *et passim.*

P. 77 1. *Essais*, III. II.; vol. III. p. 337.

77 21. *Essais*, I. XXII.; vol. I. pp. 152–3.

CHAPTER V.

P. 78 6. "...Car il y a des voyes, moins ennemies de mon goust, et plus conformes à ma portee, par lesquelles si elle m'eust appellé aultresfois au service publicque et à mon advancement vers le credit du monde, je sçais que j'eusse passé par dessus la raison de mes discours, pour la suyvre." (*Essais*, III. I.; vol. III. p. 310.)

78 12. "Quant à l'ambition, qui est voisine de la presumption, ou fille plustost, il eust fallu, pour m'advancer, que la fortune me feust venue querir par le poing; car, de me mettre en peine pour un' esperance incertaine, et me soubmettre à toutes les difficultez qui accompaignent ceulx qui cherchent à se poulser en credit sur le commencement de leur progrez, je ne l'eusse sceu faire." (*Essais*, II. XVII.; vol. III. p. 68.)

P. 79 3. *Essais*, I. XL.; vol. I. pp. 403 seq.

79 5. "J'aimois à me parer quand j'estois cadet, à faulte d'aultre parure; et me seoit bien: il en est sur que les belles robbes pleurent." (*Essais*, III. VI.; vol. III. p. 492.)

79 7. Cf. *Essais* III. III.; vol. III. pp. 360 seq.; III. V.; vol. III. pp. 472 seq. *et passim.*

79 14. "Lorsque je consulte des deportements de ma jeunesse, avecques ma vieillesse, je treuve que je les ai communement conduicts avecques ordre, selon moy: c'est tout ce que peult ma resistance." (*Essais*, III. II.; vol. III. pp. 341–2.) "La jeunesse et le plaisir n'ont pas faict aultrefois que j'aye mescogneu le visage du vice en la volupté: ny ne faict, à cette heure, le desgoust que les ans m'apportent, que je mescognoisse celuy de la volupté au vice." (*Essais*, III. II.; vol. III. p. 345; *et passim.*)

79 23. "Je suis de moy mesme non melancholique, mais songe-creux: il n'est rien de quoy je me soye, dez tousjours, plus entretenu que des imaginations de la mort; voire en la saison la plus licentieuse de mon aage, *Jucundum quum ætas florida ver ageret.* Parmy les dames et les jeux, tel me pensoit empesché à digerer, à part moy, quelque jalousie, ou l'incertitude de quelque esperance, ce pendant que je m'entretenois de je ne sçais qui, surprins les jours precedents d'une fiebre chaulde et de sa fin, au partir d'une feste pareille, la teste pleine d'oysiveté, d'amour et de bon temps, comme moy, et qu'autant m'en pendoit à l'aureille: *Jam fuerit, nec post unquam revocare licebit*: je ne ridois plus le front de ce pensement là, que d'un aultre." (*Essais*, I. XIX.; vol. I. pp. 96–7.)

79 30. *Essais*, I. XLII.; vol. I. p. 427.

P. 80 4. *Essais*, I. XIV. ed. 1580; Dez. et Barck. vol. I. p. 40. The

incident, but not the epithet, is given in the later editions, where this essay, *Que le goust des biens et des maux depend en bonne partie de l'opinion que nous en avons*, has become I. XL. (*Essais*, vol. I. p. 397.)

80 6. "De ma complexion, je ne suis pas ennemy de l'agitation des courts; j'y ay passé partie de la vie, et suis faict à me porter alaigrement aux grandes compaignies, pourveu que ce soit par intervalles et à mon poinct." (*Essais*, III. III.; vol. III. p. 358.)

80 7. "J'ai veu le roy Henry second ne pouvoir nommer à droict un gentilhomme de ce quartier de Gascoigne." (*Essais*, I. XLVI.; vol. II. p. 5.) "J'ay ouï dire à Sylvius, excellent medecin de Paris, que, pour garder que les forces de nostre estomach ne s'apparessent, il est bon, une fois le mois, de les esveiller par cet excez" (in drinking) "et les picquer, pour les garder de s'engourdir." (II. II.; vol. II. p. 101.) Sylvius died, according to Bayle, in January, 1555, so that if Montaigne had the advice direct from him, he must have visited Paris before, or immediately upon, his election to the magistracy. It may be noted that the prescription was apparently a favourite one with Sylvius. He gave it to Ramus for the good of his eye-sight (cf. Waddington, *Ramus*, p. 306).

80 9. *Essais*, II. XVII.; vol. III. p. 84.

80 22. Gaullieur: *Hist. de la Réformation*, vol. I. p. 339.

80 24. Cf. ch. VI. pp. 107 seq.

80 32. "Ledit jour (vendredi 12 juin 1562), maître Michel de Montaigne, conseiller au Parlement de Bordeaux, a fait la révérence à la Cour et l'a suppliée, pour avoir voix délibérative à l'audience d'icelle, être reçu à faire profession de foi, suivant ce qu'il avait été averti avoir été ordonné par arrêt d'icelle Cour du sixième de ce mois; ce qu'il a fait ès mains de Monsieur le Premier Président et a signé au rang des conseillers de ladite Cour." (*Archives nationales*, X. 1602, f° 384; cited Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* p. 83.) If the action had any significance, it is impossible to trace it in the bare record, which is all we have, of the fact. It is scarcely compatible with any active sympathy with the Reformers, but we know, without it, that Montaigne had none; it is certainly going too far to see in it evidence of an early intolerance. He had no responsibility for the oath, and probably took it, not at all by way of showing his approval of the measure, but simply as means to the end of obtaining admission.

P. 81 1—10. For a contemporary account of these disorders and events, cf. Pasquier, *Lettres*, Bk IV. *Lettre* XV. seq.

81 11. *Essais*, II. XVII.; vol. III. p. 96. Cf. La Boetie's sonnet on the death of Guise; *Œuvres complètes d'Estienne de La Boëtie*, ed. Bonnefon, p. 236.

81 25. *Essais*, I. XXX.: vol. I. p. 321. Charles IX. and the Court were at Rouen again in 1563, when the young king was crowned. But Montaigne was then at Bordeaux, and the occasion to which he refers must have been this earlier one. Cf. Grün, *loc. cit.* pp. 141 seq.; Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* p. 86.

81 29. *Essais*, vol. IV. p. 339. The letter, addressed by Montaigne to his father, was affixed to La Boetie's literary remains, published by Montaigne in 1571.

P. 82 2. "Quand à moy, je tiens pour certain que, depuis cet aage, et mon esprit et mon corps ont plus diminué qu'augmenté, et plus reculé que advancé." (*Essais*, I. LVII.; vol. II. p. 84.)

82 9. Cf. Sainte-Marthe, with whom Montaigne occupies the second place. (Stephanus Boetianus et Michael Montanus. *Elogiorum* Liber II. p. 40.)

P. 83 1. He is so styled in La Boetie's will. "Ledict testateur prie Monsieur Maistre Michel Ayquem de Montaigne, conseillier du Roy, en la court de Parlement de Bourdeaulx, son inthime frère et inviolable amy, de reculhir, pour un gaige d'amitié, ses livres qu'il a à Bourdeaulx, desquelz luy faict present, excepté de quelques ungtz de droict, qui sont à son cousin..." (*Archives Hist. de la Gironde*, vol. XVII. p. 161; cited *Œuvres de La Boëtie*, Bonnefon: Appendice VIII. p. 428.)

83 14. Thomas de Montaigne, Seigneur de Beauregard et d'Arsac, was the brother next in age to the Essayist,—a year younger only. He eventually married La Boetie's step-daughter. Cf. Malvezin, *loc. cit.* pp. 135 seq.

P. 85 11—16. *Essais*, III. X.; vol. IV. p. 166; I. XX.; vol. I. p. 113.

85 26. "Comment, mon frere! me dict-il, me voulez vous faire peur? Si je l'avois, à qui seroit ce de me l'oster qu'à vous?" (Letter of Montaigne to his father. *Essais*, vol. IV. p. 350.)

P. 86 20. *Essais*, I. XXVII.; vol. I. pp. 267–8.

P. 87 10. *Ibid.*, vol. I. p. 275.

87 18. "Il l'escrivit par maniere d'essay en sa premiere jeunesse, à l'honneur de la liberté contre les tyrans"....."ce subject fut traicté par luy en son enfance par maniere d'exercitation seulement, comme subject vulgaire et tracassé en mille endroicts des livres." (*Essais*, I. XXVII.; vol. I. pp. 258–9, 277.)

P. 88 2. Cf. *Œuvres de La Boëtie*, Bonnefon: Introduction, p. xxxix.

88 16. Montaigne also, *in abstract theory*, acknowledged the rule of the people to be "la plus naturelle et equitable." (*Essais*, I. III.; vol. I. p. 24.)

88 26. *Essais*, I. XXVII.; vol. I. p. 278.

P. 89 20. *Réveille-matin des François*; Edimbourg; 1574; pp. 181–2. The *Contr'un* is given here in a mutilated form, with the opening pages omitted. The passage where it is taken up runs thus "C'est chose estrange d'ouïr parler de la vaillance que la liberté met dans le cœur de ceux qui la deffendent; mais ce qui se fait en tous païs, par tous les hommes, tous les jours, qu'un homme mastine cent mille et les prive de leur liberté, qui le croiroit, s'il ne faisoit que l'ouïr dire et non le voir?..." (*Œuvres*, p. 8.) The treatise was reprinted, *in extenso*, in the *Mémoires de l'Estat de France sous Charles IX*, vol. III. (1576), a publication of a like revolutionary character, comprising, among other things, an account of the massacre of St Bartholomew at Bordeaux.

89 31. So in the edition of 1580 (Dez. et Barck. vol. I. p. 146). Later Montaigne gives the age as sixteen.

P. 90 7. "Car vous veoyez, monsieur, vert et sec, tout ce qui m'en est venu entre mains, sans chois et sans triage; en maniere qu'il y en a de ceulx mesmes de son enfance." (Letter to Monsieur de Foix. *Essais*, vol. IV. p. 375.)

90 11. *Essais*, II. XVII.; vol. III. p. 93.

90 18. Cf. Dezeimeris, *Remarques et corrections d'Estienne de La Boëtie sur le traité de Plutarque, De l'Amour*. (Publications de la Société des Bibliophiles de Guyenne, vol. VI. pp. 101 seq.)

90 28. Such as e.g. the elaborate set of verses upon the Flea, cf. Pasquier, *Lettres*, Bk VI., *Lettres* VII., VIII. Cf. again *ibid.* Bk VIII., *Lettres* X., XII.

P. 91 8. *Avertissement pour les Œuvres de La Boëtie.* (*Essais*, vol. IV. p. 391–2.)

91 21. A fellow magistrate Du Brassac, who was a figure of some literary note at Bordeaux, was the intermediary. Rē La Boetie's relations with J. C. Scaliger, cf. Dezeimeris, *Renaissance des Lettres à Bordeaux*, pp. 48 seq.; *Œuvres de La Boëtie*, Bonnefon, Introd. pp. lxxvi seq., and Poemata, p. 243: with the Pleïad, *ibid.* Introd. pp. lxxii seq.

91 27–32. *Œuvres*: Poemata, pp. 210, 217.

P. 92 20. "Or, j'ay une condition singeresse et imitatrice; quand je me meslois de faire des vers (et n'en feis jamais que des latins), ils accusoient evidemment le poëte que je venois dernierement de lire." (*Essais*, III. V.; vol. III. p. 448.)

92 30. "*De Thalete illo Gallico.*" (*Justi Lipsii Epistolarum centuriæ duæ*, 1590, Cent. I., Epist. XLIII. "*Inter septem illos te referam, aut, si quid sapientius illis septem* (*ibid.* Cent. II., Epist. XLV. Michaeli Montano.) These passages are comprised among the *Jugements et Critiques* at the end of the edition of the *Essais* by Coste, 1769.

92 32. So much may reasonably be inferred from the *Essays* (cf. "Et puis, pour qui escrivez vous? Les sçavants, à qui appartient la jurisdiction livresque, ne cognoissent aultre prix que de la doctrine, et n'advouent aultre proceder en nos esprits que celuy de l'erudition et de l'art; si vous avez pris l'un des Scipions pour l'aultre, que vous reste il à dire qui vaille? qui ignore Aristote, selon eulx, s'ignore quand et quand soy-mesme," II. XVII.; vol. III. p. 89. The passage is not in the edition of 1580), coupled with Scaliger's reported remark that Montaigne was an "hardi ignorant." (Teissier: *Eloges des Hommes Illustres.*) Cf. a later passage in the *Essays*: "En mon climat de Gascoigne on tient pour drôlerie de me veoir imprimer [les honnestes hommes et lettrés, qui y sont à foison, y passent les yeux comme sur un almanach ou matiere plus inutile]." (*Essais*, III. II.; vol. III. p. 333.) The passage in brackets is in the Bordeaux annotated copy, and has not passed into the printed Essays. It is given by Brunet, *Les Essais de Montaigne; Leçons inédites*, 1844.

P. 93 4. Cf. ch. XI. p. 189.

93 10. *Lettres Françaises inédites de Joseph Scaliger*, publ. par Ph. Tamizey de Larroque, 1879, pp. 203, 252. (Rē Geoffroy de la Chassaigne, sieur de Pressac, cf. La Croix du Maine, *Bibl. Fr.*) The elder Scaliger again had some acquaintance with the elder Montaignes, uncle and father of the Essayist. M. Dezeimeris cites his *Verses on death of De Ferron*, with references to La Boetie and Raymond de Montaigne, who died in the same year

Ferronus postquam, Montanus, Boëtiusque,
Invenere inter sydera densa locum,

and, from Scaliger's letters, *Montanus suavissimis salutationibus me saturavit*, and *Utrumque Montanum saluta*, one of the two presumably Michel's father. (Dezeimeris, *Remarques... d'Estienne de La Boëtie sur le traité de Plutarque, De l'Amour*, p. 118, note.) One suspects the want of sympathy between the sons to have amounted to personal dislike. Scaliger calls attention to Montaigne's commercial origin (*Son pere était vendeur de harengs*); Montaigne may have had Scaliger in view when he mocked at the genealogical pretentions of his neighbours (cf. *Essais*, I. XLVI.; vol. III. pp. 7–8; III. VIII.; vol. IV. p. 24).

93 19. Cf. *Essais*, I. XXIII.; vol. I. p. 158.

93 23. Cf. *Essais*, I. XX.; vol. I. p. 119. Cf. Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*, pp. 314 seq. Péletier was appointed principal of the College in 1572, at the beginning therefore of Montaigne's retirement. It is probable enough that Montaigne offered him hospitality as new principal rather than as personal acquaintance, though he may have known him previously in Paris.

93 32. *Essais*, I. XXIV.; vol. I. p. 185.

P. 94 6. Montaigne describes his circle of friends, in a passage printed in 1580, "...ceux ausquelz ma condition me mesle plus ordinairement sont, pour la pluspart, gens qui ont peu de soin de la culture de l'ame, et ausquelz on ne propose pour toute beatitude que l'honneur, et pour toute perfection que la vaillance." (*Essais*, II. XVII.; Dez. et Barck. vol. II. p. 238; Louandre, vol. III. p. 92.)

CHAPTER VI.

P. 95 14. "Aux amitiez communes, je suis aulcunement sterile et froid; car mon aller n'est pas naturel, s'il n'est à pleine voile; oultre ce, que ma fortune, m'ayant duict et affriandé de jeunesse à une amitié seule et parfaicte, m'a à la verité aulcunement desgousté des aultres..." (*Essais*, III. III.; vol. III. p. 353.)

95 15. "...Ce mesme matin escrivant à M. d'Ossat, je tumbe en un pansemant si pénible de M. de la Boetie, et y fus si longtamps, sans me raviser, que cela me fit grand mal." (*Journal de Voyage*, ed. 1774, 12°, vol. II. p. 320.)

P. 96 1. "J'ai un agir trepignant, où la volonté me charrie; mais cette poincte est enemie de perseverance..." (*Essais*, III. X.; vol. IV. p. 176.) "Je hais les morceaux que la necessité me taille." (III. IX.; vol. IV. p. 122.) Cf. II. XVII.; vol. III. p. 64; *et passim*.

96 5. It is a reasonable assumption that La Boetie's widow is the lady alluded to in the opening of the Essay on *Diversion*: "J'ay aultrefois esté employé à consoler une dame vrayement affligée..." (III. V.; vol. III. pp. 369 seq.) La Boetie had begged Montaigne to provide against the excessive grief of his wife and uncle. "Et vous supplie vous prendre garde que le deuil de ma perte ne poulse ce bon homme et cette bonne femme hors des gonds de la raison." (Letter of Montaigne to his father, *Essais*, vol. IV. p. 345.)

96 8. "Je feus aultrefois touché d'un puissant desplaisir, selon ma complexion; et encores plus juste que puissant...Ayant besoing d'une vehemente diversion pour m'en distraire, je me feis, par art, amoureux, et par estude; à quoy l'aage m'aydoit: l'amour me soulagea et retira du mal qui m'estoit causé par l'amitié." (*Essais*, III. V.; vol. III. pp. 378–9.)

96 15. "De mon desseing (*var.* "de mon propre mouvement") j'eusse fuy d'espouser la Sagesse mesme, si elle m'eust voulu; mais, nous avons beau dire, la coustume et l'usage de la vie commune nous emporte." (*Essais*, III. V.; vol. III. p. 407.)

96 27. "C'est trahison de se marier sans s'espouser." (*Essais*, III. v.; vol. III. p. 408.)

96 30. *Essais*, III. v.; vol. III. pp. 407–8.

96 32. Letter sent to his wife with La Boetie's translation of Plutarch's *Letter of Consolation to his Wife*. (*Essais*, vol. IV. p. 376.) Cf. *Essais*, II. VI.; vol. II. p. 156; also Stapfer, *La Famille et les Amis de Montaigne*, pp. 71 seq.

P. 97 1. Cf. ch. XII. pp. 212, 218; also *Lettres inédites de Françoise de Lachassagne*, publ. by G. Richou, at the end of his *Inventaire* of the Coll. Payen, pp. 298, 328 seq.

97 9. Cf. *Essais*, III. IX.; vol. IV. pp. 98–9.

97 19. "Monseigneur, vous sçavez myeulx que nul aultre...combien d'incommodité porte à la distribution de la justice la multiplication des alliances et parantés que ceulx qui sont commis à la distribution d'icelle ont entre eulx...et pour ce que nous avons eu advertissement que M. de la Chassaigne, jadis président en ceste court, poursuyt grandement ung estat de président en ceste compagnie, chose qui pourroit tumber à grand préjudice de toute la justice, car...vous trouveriez qu'il entrera en une compagnie en laquelle luy, son filz ou son gendre ont plus de quarante parens ou alliez." (Letter from the présidents De Roffignac, De Faugueroolles, De Beraud, to the Cardinal of Lorraine, Dec. 4, 1560. *Archives Historiques de la Guyenne*, vol. XIII.)

97 25. Cf. Grün, *loc. cit.* p. 119.

P. 98 9. "...Pendant une paix, on leur a plus rongné les ongles, par Edits doux et non violents, que M. de Guise n'avoit faict, avec une grande puissance d'Armes." (Pasquier, *Lettres*, Bk V. *Lettre* II.)

98 10—21. De Thou, Bks XXXVI. XXXVII.; vol. III. pp. 507, 547.

P. 99 8. The speech was published in a *Recueil de divers mémoires*, 1623; cited also Grün, *loc. cit.* pp. 110–111, note.

99 23. De Thou, Bk XXXVII.; vol. III. pp. 546–7.

P. 100 4. From *Le Bocage Royal* (Sainte-Beuve, *Œuvres Choisies de P. de Ronsard*, p. 213).

100 10. De Thou, Bk XXXVII.; vol. III. pp. 550–1.

100 16—30. *Essais*, II. VI.; vol. II. pp. 150 seq. He inherited in 1568, and was therefore the owner of the Château of Montaigne during the third, but not during the second, troubles. But it is highly probable that he made it his home before his father's death.

P. 101 4, 6. Cf. De Thou, Bk XLIV.; vol. IV. pp. 170–1. Rē *Clermond de Piles*, cf. Brantôme. He was one of the victims of the St Bartholomew, "qui ne s'en fust pas doubté jamais, d'autant que,

deux jours avant, le roy luy avoit faict cet honneur de luy commander de nager avec luy vers l'isle de Louviers, et de luy apprendre et de luy tenir menton. Il eust esté a craindre," observes Brantôme, "que, si quelque devin luy eust annoncé telle fin, qu'il eust faict au roy un mauvais party. Ainsi les roys font et deffont les personnes comme il leur plaist." (*Grands Capitaines Français*, ed. Lalanne, vol. v. p. 434.)

101 7. De Thou, Bk XLIV.; vol. IV. p. 152.

101 9. *Ibid.* p. 150.

101 21. *Ibid.* p. 150. Cf. Boscheron des Portes, *loc. cit.* vol. I. pp. 206 seq.

101 26. Monluc, *Commentaires*, ed. De Ruble, vol. III. p. 204.

P. 102 1. *Essais*, II. XVII.; vol. III. p. 97.

102 4. *Essais*, I. VI.; cf. De Thou, Bk XLV.; vol. IV. p. 181. De Thou's account does not exactly tally with Montaigne's, except as to the fact of treacherous dealing. But there can be little doubt that they refer to the same siege of Mussidan, in 1569. Descars, who led the Catholics, was presumably Montaigne's acquaintance. Another contemporary account is in the *Journal de François de Syrueilh*, Chanoine de Saint-André de Bordeaux,...de l'an 1568 à l'an 1585; publ. Bordeaux, 1873, pp. 22–3.

102 10. *Essais*, I. XXXII.

102 12. *Essais*, I. XLVII.

102 23. The Essayist was "third in order of birth"; and even some of his contemporaries (La Croix du Maine and Sainte-Marthe) speak of an elder brother, upon whose death he succeeded to the title. But he was unquestionably the eldest son in 1561 (cf. *Will of Pierre Eyquem de Montaigne*, published in the *Archives Historiques de la Gironde*, vol. XXIII. pp. 87 seq.) and as there is no trace of any older children, the assumption is that the two first born died at birth. This is confirmed by the fact that Michel was the subject of his father's educational experiments. Cf. Malvezin, *loc. cit.* pp. 129 seq.

102 31. Malvezin, *loc. cit.* p. 295.

P. 103 7. *Transaction entre damoiselle Anthoinette de Louppes, veufve de feu Pierre Eyquem de Montaigne, escuyer, seigneur dudict lieu, et M. M^e^ Michel de Montaigne, escuyer, conseiller du Roy en sa Court de Parlement de Bordeaulx, mère et fils* (1568, 31 Août). "...Item que parce que audict article du testament il est dict que ladicte damoiselle sera nourrye et entretenue sur les biens dudict feu seigneur testateur avec mesme autorité et tout ainsy qu'elle avoit esté pendant sa vie, il est accordé et entendu...ladicte clause ne se pourroit estendre à autre surintendance et maistrise que honoraire et maternelle; et quant à l'entretenement et

nourriture, a été accordé que pendant que lesdicts damoiselle et sieur de Montaigne s'accorderont de vivre ensemble à Montaigne, ladicte damoiselle y sera nourrie suyvant ledict testament avec tout honneur, respect et service filial, ensemble deux chambrières et un serviteur; et pour son entretenement et menus frais sera tenu ledict sieur...; et moyennant...que le commandement et maistrise dudict chasteau de Montaigne en général, de ses préclostures et de ses entrées et yssues, demeure entierement audict sieur de Montaigne..." (cited Malvezin, *loc. cit.* pp. 297 seq.).

P. 104 4. Cf. *Essais*, II. XII.; vol. II. pp. 255 seq., and Letter to his father (*Essais*, vol. IV. p. 360).

104 12. Cf. Simler (L'Abbé L.), *Des Sommes de Théologie*, 1872, ch. VIII.

P. 106 22. "Il...donna charge qu'on le fit imprimer: ce qui fut executé, apres sa mort, avec la nonchalance qu'on void par l'infini nombre des fautes que l'imprimeur y laissa, qui en eust la conduite luy seul." (*Essais*, II. XII.; Dez. et Barck. vol. II. p. 19.) The passage is omitted in vulgate.

P. 107 2. Cf. Grün, *loc. cit.* p. 77.

107 4. Cf. *supra*, p. 234, note to p. 3, l. 30. Strictly, the date is obliterated, but the Essayist gives his precise age, 38, so that the year must have been 1571.

107 12. *Essais*, III. XIII.; vol. IV. pp. 269 seq. There is very probably here a reminiscence of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (cf. Bk IV. ed. 1727, pp. 359 seq.), a favourite book of La Boetie's (cf. *Vers François, XII.*; *Œuvres de La Boëtie*, ed. Bonnefon, p. 275), and cited elsewhere by Montaigne (cf. *Essais*, II. XVII.; vol. III. p. 60).

107 22. "Et, de vray, la nouvelleté couste si cher jusqu'à cette heure à ce pauvre estat (et si je ne sçais si nous en sommes à la derniere enchere) qu'en tout et par tout j'en quitte le party." (Letter to his wife, *Essais*, vol. IV. p. 376.)

P. 108 9. Letter to l'Hôpital (*Essais*, vol. IV. pp. 369–70). These dedicatory letters,—to l'Hôpital, De Lansac, De Mesmes, De Foix,—are of interest, both as indicative of Montaigne's social and political relations, and as containing thoughts afterwards repeated or developed in the *Essays*.

108 24. Rē the political situation, cf. Georges Weill, *Les théories sur le pouvoir royal en France pendant les guerres de religion*, 1892, chs. II. III. *et passim*; also Duc d'Aumale, *Les Princes de Condé*, vols. I. II.

P. 109 10. Cf. ch. XI. p. 190.

109 15. Cf. e.g. *Mémoires de Philippi* (Petitôt, Série I. vol. 34, p. 346); and De Thou, Bk XXXIX.; vol. III. p. 668).

109 20. Cf. advice of ministers to Condé (De Thou, Bk XXXIV.; vol. III. p. 405).

P. 110 14. Cf. De Thou, Bk LII. vol. IV. p. 599; LIII. vol. IV. p. 644. The Président De Thou availed himself of the very phrase of Louis XI., "Qui ne sçait pas dissimuler ne sçait pas regner," which Montaigne inveighs against in the *Essays* (II. XVII.; vol. III. p. 73), cf. ch. IX. pp. 162–3.

110 24. "Ce double corps, et ces membres divers se rapportants à une seule teste, pourroient bien fournir de favorable prognostique au roy, de maintenir sous l'union de ses loix ces parts et pieces diverses de nostre estat: mais de peur que l'evenement ne le desmente, il vaulx mieulx le laisser passer devant; car il n'est que de deviner en choses faictes." (*Essais*, II. XXX.; vol. III. p. 175.)

110 25. "Entre Cesar et Pompeius, je me feusse franchement declaré: mais entre ces trois voleurs qui veinrent depuis, ou il eust fallu se cacher, ou suyvre le vent: ce que j'estime loisible, quand la raison ne guide plus." (*Essais*, III. IX.; vol. IV. p. 132.) Cf. also I. XXII.; vol. I. p. 154.

P. 111 25. *Essais*, II. XVII.; vol. III. p. 87.

CHAPTER VII.

P. 112 3. "Il fut premièrement Conseiller du Roi audit Parlement de Bordeaux, mais après la mort de son frère aîné, il se défit de cet état, pour suivre les armes" (La Croix du Maine, *Bibl. Fr.* art. Michel de Montagne). "...Nous avons veu des conseillers sortir des courtz de parlement, quitter la robe et le bonnet carré, et se mettre à traisner l'espée, et les charger de ce collier" (the order of St Michael) "aussitost, sans autre forme d'avoir faict guerre, comme fit le sieur de Montaigne, duquel le mestier estoit meilleur de continuer sa plume à escrire ses *Essays* que de la changer avec une espée qui ne lui siéoid si bien. Le marquis de Tran l'impétra du roy aysément un Ordre à un de ses voysins; pensez qu'en se mocquant (car il estoit un grand mocqueur), il fit aussi son maistre d'hostel, dict Paumier, de mesme chevallier..." (Brantôme had written first, but corrected "et luy donna, pensez qu'en se mocquant, car il estoit un grand mocqueur, car c'estoit son voysin.") (Brantôme, *Grands Capitaines François*, *Œuvres* ed. Lalanne, vol. V. pp. 92–3.)

112 11. "Oct. 28. L'an 1571, suivant le comãdemãt du roy et la depeche que sa majesté m'en avoet faicte je fu faict chevalier de lordre S. michel par les meins de Gaston de foix marquis de Trans, &c." (*Ephemerides; Documents Inédits sur Montaigne*, publiés par le Dr J. F. Payen, no. 3, 1855, p. 13.) Cf. *Essais*, II. XII.; vol. II. p. 501.

112 15. *Essais*, II. VII.; vol. II. p. 167.

112 17. It was said to have become "un collier à toutes bêtes." (De Thou, Bk XXIII.; vol. II. p. 690.)

P. 113 12. *Essais*, III. VI.; vol. III. p. 487. He never grew, however, so accustomed to the use of firearms as to avoid starting at the unexpected noise. Cf. *Essais*, I. XII.; vol. I. pp. 63–4.

113 23. Payen, *Documents Inédits*, no. 3, 1855, p. 15. *Registres Secret du Parlement de Bordeaux*, fo. 344, cited by Grün, *loc. cit.* pp. 315–6.

113 27. The *Chronique Bordeloise* records various alarms during the year 1573–4. "Advis donné à Bourdeaux des surprinses que vouloient faire ceux de la Religion pretendue reformée. Gardes redoublées à Bourdeaux...Conseillers et Presidents deputez pour aller aux gardes... Monsieur de Monluc arrive à Bourdeaux, au commencement de Mars 1574...Habitans de la Ville envoyez garder le casteau Trompette, parce qu'il n'y avoit que quinze mortes payes dedans, qui ne faisoient nulle garde, et fut arresté que Monsieur de Vaillac Capitaine en seroit adverty... Commerce empesche sur mer par les Huguenots: resolution d'armer douze Navires pour aller attaquer ceux des ennemis...Monsieur de Montpensier escrivit aux Maire et Jurats pour leur donner advis d'une entreprise que ceux de la Religion pretendue reformée avoient faite sur Blaye: afin d'y pourvoir promptement et se saisir du traistre..." (*Chron. Bord.* Supplement par Darnal, pp. 85–6.) Cf. also Letter from Cath. of Med. to Montferrand, Seneschal of Guyenne, May 28, 1574, warning him of preparations made by the English, and probable attack on France. (*Archives Hist. de la Gironde*, vol. I. p. 236: cited Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* pp. 182–3.) Rē Montpensier in Poitou, cf. De Thou, Bk LVII.; vol. V. 45.

113 32. *Essais*, II. V.; vol. II. pp. 139–40.

P. 114 14. "Le bien public requiert qu'on trahisse, et qu'on mente, et qu'on massacre: resignons cette commission à gents plus obeïssants et plus soupples." (*Essais*, III. I.; vol. III. p. 303.)

114 23. "Le sage doibt au dedans retirer son ame de la presse, et la tenir en liberté et puissance de juger librement des choses; mais, quant au dehors,...il doibt suyvre entierement les façons et formes reçeus." (*Essais*, I. XXII.; vol. I. p. 150.)

114 27. Letter to his wife. (*Essais*, vol. IV. p. 376.)

P. 115 1. J. F. Payen, *Documents Inédits sur Montaigne*, no. 3, 1855. M. Payen gives in this, the most important, of his brochures upon Montaigne, all the entries made by the Essayist himself in the *Ephemerides*, as well as some by his daughter, and the notice of his death.

115 19. *Ibid.* p. 15.

115 30. Cf. De Thou, Bk LVIII.; vol. V. pp. 99–102.

P. 116 10. Cf. Duc d'Aumale, *Les Princes de Condé*, vol. II. pp. 116 seq.

116 25. Cf. *Procès-verbal des députés du parlement constatant qu'il ont prié le roi de Navarre de ne pas venir à Bordeaux.* (*Archives Hist. de la Gironde*, vol. XIII. p. 460.) Rē course of events and negotiations, cf. De Thou, Bks LXIII. LXIV.; vol. V. pp. 342 seq. 357 seq. 377, 392 seq.

116 32. Cf. Letter of Henry IV. to Marie de Medicis, 1601. "M'amye, J'attendois d'heure à heure vostre lettre; je l'ay baisée en la lisant. Je vous responds en mer...Vive Dieu! vous ne m'auriés rien sceu mander qui me fust plus agreable que la nouvelle du plaisir de lectures qui vous a prins. Plutarque me sourit tousjours d'une fresche nouveauté; l'aimer c'est m'aimer, car il a esté l'instituteur de mon bas aage. Ma bonne mere, à qui je doibs tout et qui avoit une affection si grande de veiller à mes bons deportemens, et ne vouloit pas, ce desoit elle, voir en son fils un illustre ignorant, me mit ce livre entre les mains, encore que je ne feusse à peine plus un enfant de mamelle. Il m'a este comme ma conscience, et m'a dicté à l'oreille beaucoup de bonnes honestetez, et maximes excellentes pour ma conduicte et pour le gouvernement des affaires. A Dieu, mon cœur,...ce iij^{e} Septembre, à Calais." (Berger de Xivrey, *Recueil des Lettres Missives de Henri IV.*; vol. V. pp. 462–3.)

P. 117 7. Cf. ch. XI. p. 187.

117 15. "Voire chez moy, au milieu d'une famille peuplée, et maison des plus frequentees, j'y veois des gents assez..." (*Essais*, III. III.; vol. III. p. 358.) This was written at a later date, but must have been true also at this time. Cf. ch. VI. pp. 102–3.

117 18. Payen, *Docs. Inéds.* no. 3, 1855, pp. 12, 13.

117 26. *Essais*, II. VIII.; vol. II. pp. 177–8.

117 31. Cf. *Essais*, III. IX.; vol. IV. pp. 54, 58–9.

P. 118 8. *Essais*, I. XXXVIII.; vol. I. p. 365. Cf. II. XVII.; vol. III. p. 65. and III. IX.; vol. IV. pp. 62–3, *et passim*.

118 13. "Qu'on ne me mette pas en ce reng ces aultres amitiez communes; j'en ay autant de cognoissance qu'un aultre, et des plus parfaictes de leur genre..." (*Essais*, I. XXVII.; vol. I. p. 269.)

118 15. Aug. 6. "Lan 1580, mourut au siège de la fere mōsr de gramōt qui m'étoit fort amy; qui avoit été frapé d'un coup de piece 4 jours auparauāt moi ētāt au d^{t} siège." (*Ephemerides*; Payen, *Docs. Inéds.* no. 3, p. 15.) Cf. ch. X. p. 166. De Thou gives the account of the siege and the death of the Comte de Grammont (Bk LXXII.; vol. VI. pp. 18–19). The Comtesse de Grammont, Diane d'Andouins, "la belle Corisande," was maid of honour to Margaret of Navarre, and one of Henry of Navarre's many objects of admiration.

118 25—32. "...Comme j'ai veu, de mon temps, plusieurs jeunes hommes, de bonne maison, si addonnez au larrecin, que nulle correction les en pouvoit destourner. J'en cognois un, bien apparenté, à qui, par la priere d'un sien frere tres-honneste et brave gentilhomme, je parlay une fois pour cet effect..." "J'ay aultrefois esté privé en la maison d'un gentilhomme veuf et fort vieil, d'une vieillesse toutesfois assez verte; cettuy cy avoit plusieurs filles à marier, et un fils desia en aage de paroistre: cela chargeoit sa maison de plusieurs despenses et visites estrangieres, à quoy il prenoit peu de plaisir...Je luy dit un jour, un peu hardiement, comme j'ay accoustumé, qu'il luy sieroit mieulx de nous faire place, et de laisser à son fils sa maison principale...et se retirer en une sienne terre voisine..." "Feu monsieur le mareschal de Montluc, ayant perdu son fils,...me faisoit fort valoir, entre ses aultres regrets, le desplaisir et crevecœur qu'il sentoit, de ne s'estre jamais communiqué à luy; et sur cette humeur d'une gravité et grimace paternelle, avoir perdu la commodité de gouster et bien connoistre son fils..." (*Essais*, II. VIII.; vol. II. pp. 175, 182, 188–9.) Cf. Monluc, *Commentaires*, vol. I. pp. 387–8.

P. 119 2. They shared the patronage of the primitive parish of Lahonton. Cf. *Essais*, II. XXXVII.; vol. III. p. 286. The Baron de Caupene there alluded to is the son of the Pierre Bertrand de Monluc in question, by his wife Margaret de Caupene. (Cf. Payen, *Docs. Inéds.* no. 4, p. 36.)

119 11. "Me voilà, une heure après, chez moy, franc des accutumez labeurs, franc de passion, contant d'avoir mon ordinaire souhait qui estoit d'une vacation et repos pour la fin de mes jours, sinon avec les bones grâces que je desirois, au moins avec mon innocence certaine et congrue, comme j'estime, par tous les gens de bien...Je me résolus donc,...d'embrasser gaiement cete vie privée mais non plus oisive, me plonger profondement (dans) les estudes des bonnes lettres et libérales disciplines auxquelles je me sens plus né que nourry..." (Fremy, *Mémoires Inédits de Henri de Mesmes*, pp. 198–200.)

119 14. "Tavannes, après tant de travaux, se retira dans ses terres, où il vécut dans la plus profonde tranquillité, et sans prendre aucune part aux affaires publiques...A 70 ans il se remaria avec Jeanne de Pontaillier, dont il eut deux fils. Il mourut en 1633, âgé de plus de 80 ans...Ce fut dans sa retraite qu'il composa l'ouvrage que nous publions." (*Notice sur Guillaume de Tavannes.* Petitôt, vol. XXXV. p. 232.) Notwithstanding the advanced date of his second marriage, Guillaume de Tavannes was little over forty when he retired.

119 21. "Si j'ay employé une heure à le lire, qui est beaucoup pour moi..." (*Essais*, II. X.; vol. II. pp. 217–8.)

P. 120 30. *Essais*, I. XXXIX.; in ed. of 1580 (vulg. I. XXXVIII.) Dezeimeris et Barckhausen, vol. I. p. 203. It is of interest to have Montaigne's philosophy of retirement as it was first given.

P. 121 12. "Le bon citoyen doit avoir zèle aux choses publiques, et regarder plus loin qu'à vivoter en des servitudes honteuses." (La Noue, *Mémoires*. Petitôt, vol. XXXIV. p. 295.)

P. 122 6. *Essais*, 1580, I. XXXIX. Dez. et Barck. vol. I. p. 200.

122 16. *Ibid.* pp. 201, 203.

122 21. *Ibid.* p. 203.

122 31. *Ibid.* p. 207.

P. 123 4. *Ibid.* p. 206.

123 11. *Ibid.* pp. 207–8.

123 21. *Ibid.* pp. 209–10.

P. 124 12. *Essais*, II. VIII.; vol. II. p. 170.

124 21. Cf. *Essais*, I. VIII.; vol. I. p. 42; also II. XVIII.; vol. III. pp. 100–1, 103.

124 29. *Essais*, I. XXXIX.; Dez. et Barck. vol. I. p. 205.

P. 125 2. Cf. *Essais*, II. XXXVII.; vol. III. p. 251.

125 5. *Essais*, II. XVII.; vol. III. p, 77.

125 6. The inscription has been ruined, but is restored, after an earlier transcript, by Dr Payen as follows: "Dulcissimi, suavissimique sodalis et conjunctissimi, quo nihil melius vidit nostra ætas, nihil doctius, nihil venustius, nihil sane perfectius, Michael Montanus, tam charo vitæ præsidio misere orbatus, dum mutui amoris, gratique animi [quo] nect-[ebantur] memor, singulare [ali]quod extare cuperet monumentum, quando [nihil posset] signific[antius], posuit eruditam hanc [et mentis] præcipuam supellectilem, suas delicias." (*Recherches sur Michel Montaigne*. Correspondance relative à sa mort, pp. 23–4.)

125 15. *Essais*, II. XVII.; vol. III. p. 103.

125 24. *Essais*, II. X.; Dez. et Barck. vol. I. p. 351 (vulg. has "Les historiens sont ma droicte balle," vol. II. p. 222).

P. 126 1. *Ibid.* p. 352.

126 7. The most recent and fullest list is given by Bonnefon, *La Bibliothèque de Montaigne* (Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, July 1895). They are to the number of 76, of which 32 are now in the Bibl. Nat. (29 forming part of the Coll. Payen). The most interesting of all, the annotated *Cæsar*, is at Chantilly. This book was one of those bibliographical finds whose value is enhanced to a collector by the cheapness of the purchase. It was bought on the quays for the sum of 90 centimes by M. Parison, and passed at his death into the possession of the Duc d'Aumale. Montaigne's résumé is transcribed by M. Payen (*Docs. Inéds.*

no. 3, 1855, p. 31) and by M. Bonnefon (*Montaigne, l'Homme et l'Œuvre*, pp. 167–8). It accords in substance with the judgement passed on Cæsar in the *Essays*, even to occasional identity of phrase.

126 27. *Essais*, I. XXXIX.; vol. I. pp. 377–380.

P. 127 8. *Essais*, II. XVII.; vol. III. pp. 96–7. Cf. I. XXV.; vol. I. pp. 238–9.

127 27. Montaigne's copy is dated 1587. Pierre du Belloy, jurist of Toulouse, represented the 'Politiques' as against the League. Cf. Weill, *Théories sur le Pouvoir Royal*, ch. X. pp. 210–2.

127 30. "Jean Bodin est un bon aucteur de nostre temps, et accompaigné de beaucoup plus de jugement que la tourbe des escrivailleurs de son siecle, et merite qu'on le juge et considere." (*Essais*, II. XXXII.; vol. III. p. 190.)

P. 128 6. Montaigne had no heretical works with him when he reached Rome, but he had deposited the works of *Cusa* at Padua, to be picked up on his return journey, and very possibly also these books, which (like the collected works of Cusa, 1565) were published at Bâle, where he had passed (cf. *Journal de Voyage*, ed. 1774, 12°, vol. II. pp. 15–6). Occhino, a recanted monk, seems to have been a heretic of some notoriety (cf. Bayle, art. *Occhin*). Florimond de Rœmond, Montaigne's successor in the Bordeaux Parlement, says of him: "Les œuvres de cet Okin sont en credit parmy les Calvinistes. Et je sçay une Dame de cette Guyenne, laquelle n'a autre livre en main pour sa lecture ordinaire, suivant le conseil de son Ministre, que ceux de son Bernardin Okin. Mais elle fut bien estonnee quand je luy monstray le jugement que son premier Pontife de Geneve avoit fait de luy,...où il le fait Arrien et Trinitaire..." (Fl. de Rœmond, *De la Naissance de l'Heresie*, ed. 1648, Bk III. p. 295.)

128 18. *Essais*, III. III.; vol. III. p. 359.

P. 129 2. *Essais*, II. X.; Dez. et Barck. vol. I. p. 346.

129 27. *Ibid.* p. 348.

P. 130 9. *Ibid.* p. 341.

130 21. *Ibid.* p. 347.

130 28. Cf. *ibid.* p. 351.

P. 133 7. Rē the decoration of the Library, cf. Galy et Lapeyre, *Montaigne chez lui*, Périgueux, 1861; Bonnefon, *Michel de Montaigne, l'Homme et l'Œuvre*, ch. IV. pp. 138 seq., and *La Bibliothèque de Montaigne* (Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, July 1895).

133 24. *Essais*, I. XXVII.; vol. I. p. 258.

CHAPTER VIII.

P. 134 1. Cf. Teissier, *Les Eloges des Hommes Savans*, 1715, vol. IV. pp. 167–80. Cf. also the *Jugemens et Critiques sur les Essais de Montaigne*, printed by Coste at the end of the *Essais*, ed. 1769.

134 8. Simon Goulart of Geneva "a fait chastrer les œuvres de Montaigne; quæ audacia in scripta aliena" (*Scaligerana*, art. *Goulart*, 1695, pp. 174–5): "Ceux de Geneve ont esté bien impudens d'en oster plus d'un tiers" (*ibid.* art. Monsieur de *Montagnes*, p. 269).

134 10. Cf. for the one view Labouderie, *Le Christianisme de Montaigne*, 1819; for the other, even so sympathetic a critic as Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, Bk III. ch. III.; 5th ed. vol. II. pp. 425 seq.

P. 135 6. *Essais*, II. XXXVII.; Dez. et Barck. II. p. 327.

135 22. "Le jugement est un util a tous subjects et se mesle par tout. A céte cause, aus essais que j'en fay icy, j'y employe toute sorte d'occasion... Au demeurant, je laisse la fortune me fournir elle mesme les sujectz, d'autant qu'ilz me sont egalement bons." (*Essais*, I. L.; Dez. et Barck. vol. I. p. 252.)

135 30. *Essais*, III. I.; vol. III. p. 301.

P. 136 1. *Essais*, I. XLVI.; vol. II. p. 4.

136 21. "Mes fantasies se suyvent, mais par fois c'est de loing; et se regardent, mais d'une veue oblique." (*Essais*, III. IX.; vol. IV. p. 133.)

136 23. "C'est en quoy il s'est voulu de propos deliberé mocquer de nous, et paraventure de luy-mesme, par une liberté particulière qui estoit née avec luy." (Pasquier, *Lettres*, Bk XVIII. *Lettre* I.) We need not go so far as to complain that in the Essay, *A custom of the Isle of Cea*, Montaigne mentions neither the situation of the island, nor the fact that Hippocrates was born there. But an 18th century critic thinks it necessary to supply these deficiencies (cf. Servan, *Observations sur les Essais*, Œuvres Choisies, vol. IV. p. 544).

P. 137 19. Montaigne says that he would have preferred the form of *Letters*, "pour publier ces verves," had he had a suitable correspondent. (*Essais*, I. XXXIX.; vol. I. pp. 377–8.)

P. 138 31. "Et de mes premiers Essays aulcuns puent un peu l'estrangier." (*Essais*, III. V.; vol. III. p. 448.)

P. 139 6. "Je nasquis le dernier jour de feburier 1533; il n'y a justement que quinze jours que j'ay franchi 39 ans." (*Essais*, I. XX.; Dez. et Barck. vol. I. p. 55.) This Essay becomes I. XIX. in the vulgate.

139 9. *Essais*, I. XXXI.; Dez. et Barck. vol. I. p. 180.

139 11. *Essais*, II. XXXVII.; Dez. et Barck. vol. II. p. 327.

139 17. "Ce fagotage de tant de diverses pieces se fait en céte

condition que je n'y metz la main que lors qu'une trop lâche oysiveté me presse, et non ailleurs que chez moy. Ainsin il s'est basti a diverses poses et intervalles, comme les occasions me detiennent ailleurs par fois plusieurs mois." (*Essais*, II. XXXVII.; Dez. et Barck. vol. II. pp. 326–7.)

139 30. *Essais*, II. VI.: Dez. et Barck. vol. I. p. 16: cf. version of 1588: "Mais le philosophe Chrisippus n'eust pas este de cet advis, *et moy aussi peu;* car il disoit..." etc. (ed. Motheau et Jouaust, vol. I. p. 34).

P. 140 1. "Ma essendo questi Discorsi de cose grandi, di guerra, e di governi." (*Preface* to Italian translation of 1590.)

P. 141 21. *Essais*, I. XXXI.; Dez. et Barck. vol. I. pp. 175, 176. (Cf. the report by De Burie of the disorders at Grenada; cited p. 250, note to ch. IV., p. 72, l. 16.)

141 31. *Ibid.* p. 170.

P. 142 18. "Et, pour un plus notable tesmoignage de l'imbecilité naturelle, il a esté remarqué par les antiens que Diodorus le dialecticien mourut sur le champ, espris d'une extreme passion de honte, pour, en son escole et en public, ne se pouvoir desveloper d'un argument qu'on luy avoit faict." (*Essais*, I. II.; Dez. et Barck. vol. I. p. 8.)

P. 143 16. *Essais*, I. XIV.; Dez. et Barck. vol. I. p. 42.

143 20. "Or...la philosophie a bien armé l'homme pour la souffrance de tous autres accidens,...mais ce sont moyens qui servent a une ame estant a soy et en ses forces, capable de discours et de deliberation, non pas a cet accident ou, chez un philosophe, une ame devient l'ame d'un fol, troublée, renversée et perdue." (*Essais*, II. XII.; Dez. et Barck. vol. II. pp. 129–30.)

P. 144 8. *Essais*, II. III.; Dez. et Barck. vol. I. p. 285.

P. 145 20. Cf. *Essais*, I. LVI.; vol. II. p. 66, *et passim*.

P. 146 15. *Essais*, II. XII.; Dez. et Barck. vol. II. p. 29.

146 22. *Ibid.* pp. 28–9.

P. 147 3. The equality, or superiority, of the brute creation seems to have been something of a popular paradox of the time. Pasquier treats it in a letter (Bk X. *Lettre* I.), cf. Bayle, art. *Rorarius*, Note D.

147 30. "C'est, par effet, un Pyrrhonisme qu'il represente sous la forme de parler qu'il a entreprise" (*Essais*, II. XII.; Dez. et Barck. vol. II. p. 97), cf. vulg. "c'est par effect un pyrrhonisme soubs une forme resolutifve" (vol. II. p. 378).

P. 148 5. *Essais*, II. XII.; Dez. et Barck. vol. II. p. 124.

P. 149 6. *Ibid.* p. 143.

149 18. *Ibid.* p. 151.

P. 150 27. *Ibid.* pp. 153–4.

P. 151 19. "Je voudroy que chacun escrivit ce qu'il sçait, et autant qu'il en sçait...car tel peut avoir quelque particuliere science ou experiance

de la nature d'une riviere ou d'une fontaine, qui ne sçait au reste que ce que chacun sçait; il entreprendra toutes fois, pour faire courir ce petit lopin, d'escrire toute la physique." (*Essais*, I. XXXIX.; Dez. et Barck. vol. I. p. 169; vulg. XXX. vol. I. p. 307.)

P. 152 27. *Ibid.* p. 186.

P. 153 12. *Ibid.* pp. 150–1.

153 29. *Essais*, II. XXXVII.; Dez. et Barck. vol. II. p. 364.

P. 154 4. *Essais*, III. VIII.; vol. IV. p. 20.

154 9. Cf. "L'obstination et ardeur d'opinion est la plus seure preuve de bestise: est il rien certain, resolu, desdaigneux, contemplatif, grave, serieux, comme l'asne?" (*Essais*, III. VIII.; vol. IV. p. 39.)

CHAPTER IX.

P. 155 3. 1572. "*Simon Millanges*, apres avoir longuement enseigné les Lettres au College de Guyenne, dresse à Bourdeaux une belle Imprimerie." (*Chronique Bourdeloise*, p. 33.)

155 8. "Si mon imprimeur estoit si amoureus de ces prefaces questées et emprumptées dequoy, par l'humeur de ce siecle, il n'est pas livre de bonne maison s'il n'en a le frond garny, il se devoit servir de telz vers que ceus cy, qui sont de meilleure et plus ancienne race que ceus qu'il y est allé planter." (*Essais*, II. XII.; Dez. et Barck. vol. II. p. 26, passage omitted in vulgate.)

P. 156 17. Preface to edition of 1580. (Dez. et Barck. vol. I. p. 1.)

156 29. "...Car ce Livre ne contient autre chose qu'une ample Declaration de la vie dudit Sieur de Montagne, et chacun chapitre contient une partie d'icelle: en quoi me plaît fort la réponse que ledit Sieur fit au Roi de France Henry III., lorsqu'il lui dit que son Livre lui plaisoit beaucoup. Sire (répondit l'Auteur) il faut donc nécessairement qui je plaise à votre Majesté, puisque mon Livre lui est agréable, car il ne contient autre chose qu'un Discours de ma vie et de mes actions." (La Croix du Maine: *Bibl. Française*, art. Michel de Montagne.)

P. 157 6. *Essais*, II. XVII.; Dez. et Barck. vol. II. p. 211.

157 18. *Ibid.* pp. 222–3.

157 25. *Ibid.* p. 216.

157 31. *Ibid.* p. 215.

P. 158 5—24. *Ibid.* p. 218.

P. 159 11. *Essais*, II. XVII.; vol. III. p. 53.

159 21. *Essais*, III. II.; vol. III. p. 444. Cf. again the phrase, equally descriptive of the *Essays*: "C'est la gaillardise de l'imagination qui esleve et enfle les paroles" (*ibid.* p. 443).

159 25. "Je ne sçay parler qu'en bon escient, et suis du tout abandonné de céte facilité que je voy en plusieurs de mes compaignons, d'entretenir les premiers venus et tenir en haleine toute une compaignie, ou amuser, sans se lasser, l'oreille d'un Prince de toute sorte de propos, la matiere ne leur faillant jamais, pour céte grace qu'ils ont de sçavoir emploier la premiere qui leur tombe en main, et de l'accommoder a l'humeur et portée de ceus a qui ils ont afaire. Ce que j'ai a dire, je le dis tousjours de toute ma force." (*Essais*, II. XVII.; Dez. et Barck. vol. II. p. 217.)

P. 160 13. "Les mains, je les ay si gourdes que je ne sçay pas escrire seulement pour moy, de façon que ce que j'ay barbouillé, j'ayme mieux le refaire que de me donner la peine de le démesler et relire." (*Ibid.* p. 223.)

160 13. *Ibid.* p. 223.

160 17. *Ibid.* p. 224.

P. 161 3. *Ibid.* p. 225.

161 13. *Ibid.* pp. 230–1.

161 22. *Ibid.* pp. 227–8.

161 28. *Ibid.* p. 229.

161 32. *Ibid.* p. 232.

P. 162 21. *Ibid.* pp. 225–6.

162 22. *Ibid.* p. 226.

P. 163 17. *Ibid.* pp. 226–7.

163 31. *Ibid.* pp. 235–7.

P. 164 7. *Essais*, II. XXXVII.; Dez. et Barck. vol. II. p. 327 seq.

164 14. *Ibid.* pp. 333, 335.

164 24. *Ibid.* p. 336.

P. 165 4. *Ibid.* p. 344.

165 10. *Ibid.* p. 350 seq.

165 18. *Ibid.* pp. 357, 362–3.

165 29. *Essais*, III. IX.; vol. IV. pp. 63, 66 seq.

P. 166 2. *Journal de Voyage*, ed. 1774, 12°, vol. II. p. 11. Cf. Malvezin, *loc. cit.* p. 154. The *Journal* has been more recently published by Professor Ancona, *Giornale del viaggio di Michele di Montaigne*, Città di Castello, 1889.

166 3. The manuscript was discovered by M. Prunis, chanoine, in the course of researches for a history of the Périgord, among a number of neglected papers in the ancient Château of Montaigne, and published by M. Querlon. It was pronounced genuine by M. Capperonnier, then keeper of the Bibliothèque Nationale, among other authorities, and deposited in the Bibliothèque. It subsequently disappeared, and has consequently not been subjected to a rigid later criticism, for which reason its genuineness is

treated as doubtful in the *Enc. Brit.* (art. Montaigne). It is however generally accepted as genuine, and its disappearance, from a library that has sustained so many similar losses, is not in itself a suspicious circumstance, while the internal evidence is certainly in its favour.

166 6. "*Augustus* 6. Lan 1580, mourut au siège de la fere mõs^{r} de gramõt qui m'étoit fort amy; qui avoit été frapé d'un coup de piece 4 jours auparavãt moi ẽtãt au d^{t} siège." (*Ephemerides*; Payen, *Docs. Inéds.* no. 3, 1855, p. 15.) The *Journal* opens at Beaumont-sur-Oise, whence Montaigne proceeded on Monday, Sept. 5th, 1580, to Meaux.

166 13. The son probably of the Mme d'Estissac to whom *Essay* II. VIII. is dedicated.

P. 167 30. *Journal de Voyage*, ed. 1774, 12°, vol. I. pp. 196 seq.

P. 168 10. Cf. "car en Italie je disois ce qu'il me plaisoit, en devis communs; mais aux propos roides, je n'eusse osé me fier à un idiome que je ne pouvois plier ny contourner oultre son allure commune." (*Essais*, III. V.; vol. III. p. 444.)

168 20. "Je n'ai rien si enemi, à ma santé, que l'ennui et l'oisifveté." (*Journal*, vol. II. p. 193.)

P. 169 3. "Je la vis (la Bibliothèque) sans nulle difficulté;...M. notre Ambassadur s'en partoit en mesme tamps, sans l'avoir veue, et se pleignoit de ce qu'on lui vouloit faire faire la cour au Cardinal Charlet, maistre de cete Librerie pour cela; et n'avoit, disoit-il, jamès peu avoir le moïen de voir ce Seneque ecrit à la mein, ce qu'il desiroit infinimant. La fortune m'y porta, comme je tenois sur ce tesmoignage la chose pour desesperée. Toutes choses sont einsin aisées à certeins biais, et inaccessibles par autres." "L'occasion et l'opportunité ont leurs privilieges, et offrent souvant au peuple ce qu'elles refusent aux rois. La curiosité s'ampeche souvant elle mesme, comme faict aussi la grandur et la puissance." (*Ibid.* vol. II. pp. 149–50.) The librarian of the time seems to have been unaccommodating. Muret was refused permission to read the MS. of the sophist Eunapios: "et l'ayant demandé au cardinal Sirleto pour le faire copier, ce bibliothécaire lui répondit que le pape l'avait defendu et que c'était un livre *empio e scelerato*." (*Patiniana*, p. 231.)

169 32. *Journal*, vol. II. pp. 114 seq.

P. 170 10. "Aïant doné congé à celui de mes jans qui conduisoit cete bele besouigne, et la voïant si avancée, quelque incommodité que ce me soit, il faut que je la continue moi-mesmes." (*Ibid.* p. 136.)

170 27. *Ibid.* p. 152 seq.

P. 171 24. *Ibid.* p. 171 seq.

P. 172 9. *Ibid.* pp. 215–7.

172 11. *Ibid.* p. 95.

172 15. *Ibid.* p. 200; cf. *Essais*, III. IX.; vol. IV. p. 141.

172 30. *Ibid.* vol. I. p. 149; III. p. 287.

P. 173 2. *Ibid.* vol. I. p. 132.

173 5. Cf. "S'il y a de la gloire, ell'est infuse en moy superficiellement, par la trahison de ma complexion, et n'a point de corps qui comparoisse à la veue de mon jugement; j'en suis arrousé, mais non pas teinct." (*Essais*, II. XVII.; vol. III. p. 49.)

173 8. *Essais*, II. XVII.; vol. III. pp. 45, 46–7.

173 13. *Journal*, vol. III. p. 41 seq.

173 19. *Ibid.* vol. I. p. 9.

173 21. *Ibid.* p. 46.

173 24. Cf. *Essais*, III. XIII.; vol. IV. p. 255.

P. 174 4. Cf. *Essais*, III. IX.; vol. IV. p. 117 seq.; and III. XIII.; vol. IV. pp. 274–5.

174 13. *Journal*, vol. I. p. 15 seq.; vol. II. p. 106 seq.; cf. *Essais*, I. XX.; vol. I. p. 115; II. XI.; vol. II. p. 247.

CHAPTER X.

P. 175 8. Cf. *Essais*, III. X.; vol. IV. p. 148; *Journal de Voyage*, vol. III. pp. 297, 359. The king's letter runs: "Monsieur de Montaigne, pour ce que j'ay en estime grande vostre fidellité et zellée dévotion à mon service, ce m'a esté plaisir d'entendre que vous ayez esté esleu mayor de ma ville de Bourdeaulx, ayant eu très-agréable et confirmé ladicte eslection et d'autant plus volontiers qu'elle a esté faicte sans brigue et en vostre lointaine absence. A l'occasion de quoy mon intention est, et vous ordonne et enjoincts bien expressement que sans delay ne excuse reveniez au plus tost que la présente vous sera rendue, faire le deu et service de la charge où vous avez esté si legitimement appellé. Et vous ferez chose qui me sera très agréable, et le contraire me desplairoit grandement, priant Dieu Monsieur de Montaigne qu'il vous ayt en sa saincte garde. HENRY."

(Champollion-Figeac, *Documents historiques inédits*, vol. II. p. 483; cited Payen, *Docs. Inéds.*, 1847, p. 28; Grün, *loc. cit.* p. 209; Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* p. 305.)

175 16. Cf. De Thou, Bk LXXII.; vol. VI. p. 21. Biron had offended Marguerite by gratuitously firing as he passed Nerac, where she was, with his troops. (Cf. *Mémoires de Margarite de Valois*, ed. Lalanne, Bibl. Elzev. p. 167.) Rē Biron's warlike propensities and the ill terms on which he stood with Henry of Navarre cf. "Declaration et Protestation du Roy de Navarre, sur les justes occasions qui l'ont meu de prendre les armes, pour la defence et tuition des Eglises reformez de France." 1580.

(Cimber et Danjou, *Archives Curieuses* 1re sér. vol. x.); and letters from Biron to Cath. of Med. in 1577, lamenting the negotiations for peace, in 1579 and 1580 to Henry III., complaining of the aggressions of the Huguenots and the sufferings of the Catholics (*Archives Historiques de la Gironde*, vol. xiv.). The correspondence testifies also to the king's determination not to be drawn again into war.

P. 176 11. De Thou, Bk lxxiv., vol. vi. pp. 138–9.

176 26. Cf. Letter of Henry of Navarre to M. de Bellièvre, July 6, 1581 (Berger de Xivrey, *Lettres Missives de Henri IV.* vol. i. p. 286; cited Bonnefon: *loc. cit.* p. 311); and letters of Biron to the king, April 27 and July 27, 1581 (*Archives Historiques de la Gironde*, vol. xiv.; cited Bonnefon: p. 310). Biron finally accepted the situation with as good a grace as he could. "Mais asteure que j'ay entendu tant de la court que de Bourdeaulx que aulcungs disent que je veulx demurer en ceste province pour y commander et y entretenir la guerre, je les veulx faire trouver faulx et calomniateurs." (*Arch. Hist. de la Gironde*, vol. xiv. Letter of August 28, 1581.)

P. 177 30. *Essais*, iii. x.; vol. iv. pp. 149–50.

P. 178 16. Cf. Bonnefon, *Michel de Montaigne, l'Homme et l'Œuvre*, p. 316.

178 24. Matignon "battoit froid d'autant que l'autre (Biron) battoit chaud, et c'est ce qu'on disoit à la court: que le roy et la reyne disoient qu'il falloit un tel homme au roy de Navarre et au pays de Guienne, car cervelles chaudes les unes avecques les autres ne font jamais bonne souppe." (Brantôme, *Grands Capitaines Français*, *Œuvres*, ed. Lalanne, vol. v. p. 159.)

P. 179 18. De Thou, *Mémoires*, ed. 1774; vol. xi. p. 44.

179 26. Loisel, *La Guyenne*, 1605,—the collective publication of these speeches.

P. 180 3. This speech, entitled *De l'œil des rois et de la justice*, was published separately in 1595, with the dedication at the end. The dedication is comprised also in the collection *La Guyenne*, though displaced. It is cited also Payen, *Docs. Inéds.*, 1847; Grün, *loc. cit.* pp. 250–1 and Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* p. 326.

180 10. "C'est mal se revancher des beaus presants que vous m'aves faicts de vos labeurs, mais tant y a que c'est me revancher le mieus que je puis. Monsieur, prenez, pour Dieu, la peine d'en feuilleter quelque chose, quelque heure de votre loisir, pour m'en dire votre avis, car je creins d'aller en empirant.

Pour mons Loisel."

(Inscription, in Montaigne's handwriting, in a copy of the *Essays* of

1588, cited Payen, *Docs. Inéds.*, no. 4, 1856, and Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* p. 328.)

180 13. Cf. Brives-Cazes, *Le Parlement de Bordeaux et la Chambre de Justice de Guyenne en* 1582.

180 25. De Thou, *Mémoires*, ed. 1740, p. 44.

P. 181 7. Cf. *Essais*, III. X.; vol. IV. pp. 175–7, 181.

181 11. The letters of Montaigne to Matignon (thirteen in number) are published at the end of MM. Courbet et Royer's edition of the *Essays*; the letters of Duplessis-Mornay are given in his *Mémoires*, ed. 1824, and by M. Feuillet de Conches, *Causeries d'un Curieux*, vol. III. pp. 99 seq., also by Grün, *loc. cit.* pp. 319 seq. and Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* pp. 320, 346 seq.

181 13. "Je ne me suis, en cette entremise, non plus satisfaict à moy mesme; mais à peu prez j'en suis arrivé à ce que je m'en estois promis; et si ay de beaucoup surmonté ce que j'en avois promis à ceulx à qui j'avois à faire; car je promets volontiers un peu moins de ce que je puis et de ce que j'espere tenir." (*Essais*, III. X.; vol. IV. p. 182.)

181 20. In arresting Margaret's carriage and detaining her maids of honour, as she left Paris, on the ground of her ill-conduct. (Cf. L'Estoile, *Mémoires-Journaux*, août 1583; ed. 1875–96, vol. II. pp. 130 seq.)

181 28. 1583, 25 *Nov.* "A ceulx qui en eussent peu prendre ou donner l'alarme, nous avons soigneusement escrit de toutes parts, et ne doibvent presumer de cette reprise de possession, ordinaire au moindre gentilhomme de ce royaume, rien de public ni extresme. A vous qui n'estes, en cette tranquillité d'esprit, ni remuant, ni remué pour peu de chose, nous escrivons à aultre fin, non pour vous asseurer de nostre intention, qui vous est prou cogneue et ne vous peult estre cachée, soit pour nostre franchise, soit pour la poincte de vostre esprit, mais pour vous en rendre plege et tesmoing, si besoin est, envers ceux qui jugent mal de nous...Au reste, faictes estat de nostre amitié comme d'une tres ancienne, et toutesfois tousjours recente; et de mesme foi je le ferai de la vostre, que je pense cognoistre en la mienne mieulx qu'en toute aultre chose. Vous en ferés la preuve où et quand il vous plaira." (Duplessis-Mornay, *Mémoires*, 1824, vol. II. p. 385.)

P. 183 15. *Essais*, Courbet et Royer, vol. IV. pp. 350–2. A slightly earlier letter from Matignon to Henry III. shows the difficulties of keeping either party within bounds. 30 *April*, 1585..."J'envoye ordinairement vers le roy de Navarre pour tousjours le solliciter qu'il ne face lever ny assembler aucunes forces. Il m'a mandé qu'il ne le fera sans l'exprez commandement de vostre Majesté, mais ceulx qui sont les plus proches de luy ne sont en ceste opinion. Ils font fortiffier Bergerac...

J'en ay adverty aussi le roy de Navarre, et comme s'il n'y pourvoit les Catholiques s'esleveront...Tout ce que je puis faire c'est d'y tenir la main si ferme que je crains m'en rendre suspect; avec les bruitz et placartz que font courir ceulx qui sont mal affectionnez au bien de vostre service, que je veulx faire entrer le roy de Navarre en ceste ville par le Chasteau-Trompette; qui sont ceulx qui ont autrefois manié et cuidé perdre ceste ville par le moyen de la confrerie qu'ilz avoient mise sus." (*Archives Historiques de la Gironde*, vol. XIV. pp. 283–4.)

183 30. Cf. Brantôme, *Grands Capitaines Français*, *Œuvres*, ed. Lalanne, vol. V. pp. 161–2, and De Thou, Bk LXXXI.; vol. VI. p. 478. De Thou erroneously supposes Matignon, who succeeded Montaigne as mayor, to have already entered upon that office.

P. 184 21. *Essais*, ed. Courbet et Royer, vol. IV. p. 354.

184 25. For a fuller discussion of the matter, cf. Grün, *loc. cit.* pp. 285 seq., and Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* pp. 403 seq.

P. 185 5. Cf. Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*, pp. 357 seq. and Pièces justificatives, no. 14. The report, drawn from the *Arch. Départementales de la Gironde*, série H: *Jésuites*, *Collège de la Madeleine*, is a copy only of the lost original.

185 8. Cf. *Representation of mayor and council to Navarre.* "C'est ce que Messieurs de Montaigne, maire, et Delurbe, procureur et syndic de la ville de Bourdeaulx, sont chargés et commis faire remonstrances au Roy de Navarre, lieutenant général du Roy au pais et Duché de Guienne, pour le bien du service de Sa Majesté et soullaigement de ses subjetz."

"Remontreront au dict Seigneur Roy de Navarre que les provinces et villes ne peuvent estre maintenues et conservées en leur estat sans la liberté du commerce laquelle, par la communiquation libre des uns avec les aultres, cause que toutes chozes y abondent et par ce moien le laboureur de la vente de ses fruitz nourrit et entretient sa famille, le marchand trafique des denrées et l'artisan treuve prix de son ouvraige, le tout pour supporter les charges publiques, et dautant que le principal commerce des habitans de ceste ville se faict avec les habitans de Tholose et aultres villes qui sont sizes sur la Garonne tant pour le faict des bledz, vins, pastelz, poisson que laynes, et que les ditz maire et juratz ont esté advertis par ung bruict commun que ceulx du mas de Verdun sont resolus, soubz pretexte du default du paiement des garnizons des villes de seureté octroiées par l'edict de paciffication, d'arrester les bapteaux chargés de marchandizes tant en montant qu'en dessendant par la dite rivière de Garonne, ce qui reviendrait à la totalle ruyne de ce pais";

"Sera le dict seigneur Roy de Navarre supplié ne permettre l'arrest des dictz bapteaux et marchandizes estre faict tant au dict mas de Verdun que

aultres villes de son gouvernement; ains conserver et maintenir la liberté de commerce entre toutes personnes suyvant les edictz du Roy."

"Fait à Bourdaulx en jurade le dixième de décembre mil cinq cens quatre vingtz trois." *Signés:* Mõtaigne, Dalesme,..... (Champollion-Figeac, *Docs. Hist. inéds. pour servir à l'histoire de France*, 1843, vol. II. p. 485.)

"Pareillement d'aultant que le pauvre peuple se ressent tellement des miseres du passé qu'il est comme reduict au dernier desespoir et que d'ailleurs la trève de six ans destinée pour l'entretenement desdictes villes de seureté est expirée, sera ledict sieur roi de Navarre supplié d'intervenir devers le roy nostre souverain seigneur, pour que desormais le pauvre peuple soit deschargé du paiement des garnisons desdictes villes de seureté, en quoi principallement les habitants du tiers estat de la senechaussée de Guyenne ont esté fouillées."

"Finallement et en conséquence de ce que dessus, sera ledit Sieur roi de Navarre supplié intervenir devers le roy nostre seigneur, à ce que les gaiges des sieurs de la chambre de la justice haute, à présent à Périgueult, ne soient desormais levés sur le pauvre peuple, lequel seul a porté ceste foulle de surcharges pendant deux ans qui estoient le temps destiné pour la formation de ladicte chambre, et n'est possible que les pauvres habitants de ladite ville puissent à l'advenir continuer le paiement desdits gaiges comme ils ont faict grandement pour ne voulloir interrompre le cours de l'edict de pacification." (Supplementary paragraph, publ. *Comptes-rendus des travaux de la Commission des monuments et documents historiques du département de la Gironde* (1584–5), (Paris 1855, p. 41). For answer of Navarre, cf. *ibid.*, and in connection with this remonstrance cf. also letters of Navarre to Matignon, to Bellièvre and to the King (Berger de Xivrey, *Recueil de Lettres Missives de Henri IV.*, vol. I. pp. 601–3, 620, 645). Cf. Grün, pp. 263–4, and Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* pp. 341 seq. Cf. also a more general *Remonstrance* to Henri III., August 31, 1583, publ. by M. Jules Delpit, *Courier de la Gironde*, Jan. 21, 1856, cited Payen, *Docs. Inéds.* no. 4, 1856, and Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* pp. 334 seq.

185 12. Cf. *Mémoire présenté à Monsieur Matignon par le Maire et Jurats de Bordeaux au sujet du droit qu'avait la ville de placer des sentinelles du côté des châteaux et fortifications*, 1582. This was an ancient right and apparently a standing bone of contention. The *mémoire* complains that "le Cappitaine dudict Château Trompette, ses lieutenants et soldats, veuillent empescher de mettre lesdicts sentinelles en dicts lieux accoustumés."

The mayor and council claim further the right of the town to the square in front of the Château for the public service, for executions and for washing

(it was close to the river), whereas the garrison levied illegal payments from the washerwomen using it, and also from the merchants for the right of standing (pour y ranger) their wine. They complain further that the captain and garrison usurp the right of way and exact toll from the public.

"Et qui pis est, et qui est grandement considérable, lesdits cappitaines desdits Chateaux de Trompette et du Ha et leurs lieutenants baillent des certifications a plus de deux cens hommes de la ville...pour les exempter des gardes et des courvées de la dicte ville, et en prennent vin argent et aultres chozes, au grand dommaige du publiq..." (*Mémoire*, copy sent by M. d'Etchevery to M. Payen, Coll. Payen, no. 690).

185 21. 1585. "Au mois de May audit an la monstre generale des habitans de ladite ville se fait en armes" (*Chronique Bourdeloise*, pp. 33–4), cf. *Essais*, I. XXIII.; vol. I. p. 171.

185 26. Cf. e.g. "Jen sçais un qui aimeroit bien mieulx estre battu que de dormir pendant qu'on se battroit pour luy, et qui ne veid jamais sans jalousie ses gents mesmes faire quelque chose de grand en son absence" (*Essais*, II. XXI.; vol. III. p. 120).

P. 186 25. *Essais*, III. X.; vol. IV. p. 154.

186 30. This transpires in the letters. He and Delurbe were also deputed to convey the Remonstrance, cited pp. 275–6, personally to Navarre. As early as February 1582, we hear of him as going to Cadillac to pay his respects to the king and queen of Navarre, and as present, presumably, at the christening in his friend's family. "Le roy et reyne de Navarre se rendirent le jeudy VIII[e] febvrier à Cadillac audict an 1582.

"M. le président de Villeneufve, MM....conseillers en la court de parlement de Bourdeaulx les allarent trouver et saluer de la part de la cour. Ung aussi de MM. les conseillers de la Chambre de Justice se rendit devers eulx..., comme aussi fit M. de Montaigne, maire de Bourdeaulx, accompagné de...juratz de ladicte ville.

"Ledict jour de jeudy au soir qu'ilz arrivarent audict Cadilhiac, la royne de Navarre tint à baptesme une filhe de M. le comte de Gurson, filz de M. le marquis de Trans..." (*Journal de François de Syrueilh*, Chanoine de Saint-André de Bordeaux,...de l'an 1568 à l'an 1585; publ. Bordeaux, 1873, pp. 102–3).

P. 187 4. December 19. "1584, le roy de navarre me vint voir à mõtaigne ou il n'avoit jamais esté et y fut deus jours servi de mes jans sans aucũ de ses officiers, il n'y souffrit ny essai ny couvert, et dormit dans mon lit. Il avoit aveq lui messieurs le prince de condé, de rohan, de tureine, de rieus, de Betune et son frere de la Boulaie D'esternay,...et ẽvirõ dix autres s[rs] coucharẽt ceãs outre les valets de chãbre pages et soldats de sa garde. Envirõ autãt alarẽt coucher aus villages. Au partir de ceãs je lui fis eslãcer

un cerf ẽ ma foret qui le promena 2 jours" (*Ephemerides*, Payen, *Docs. Inéds.* no. 3, 1855, pp. 16–7).

187 7. Cf. Berger de Xivrey, *Séjours et Itinéraire du roi de Navarre*, cited Payen, *Docs. Inéds.* no. 3, 1855, p. 27.

187 11. M. de Mattecoulon is quoted as among the "gentilhommes, gens de conseil et officiers de la maison du roi de Navarre" (Mémoires de Duplessis-Mornay, 1824, vol. III. p. 238, cited Grün, *loc. cit.* p. 60), cf. ch. XII. p. 218.

187 19. Letter to the king. (*Essais*, Courbet et Royer, vol. IV. p. 360.)

P. **188** 4, 11. *Ibid.* pp. 361–2. Cf. "C'est une doulce passion que la vengeance...Pour en distraire dernierement un jeune prince, je ne luy allois pas disant qu'il falloit prester la joue à celuy qui vous avoit frappé l'aultre,...je la laissay là; et m'amusay à luy faire gouster la beauté d'une image contraire, l'honneur, la faveur, la bienveillance qu'il acquerroit par clemence et bonté: je le destournay à l'ambition" (*Essais*, III. IV.; vol. III. pp. 377–8).

CHAPTER XI.

P. **189** 19. "Nous estions, luy et moy, familiers et amis, par une mutuelle rencontre des lettres; fusmes ensemblement en la ville de Blois, lors de ceste fameuse assemblée des trois Estats, de l'an 1588, dont la tenuë a causé tant malheurs à la France: et comme nous nous promenions dedans la cour du Chasteau, il m'advint de luy dire, qu'il s'estoit aucunement oublié de n'avoir communiqué son œuvre à quelques siens amis, avant que de le publier; d'autant que l'on y recognoissoit, en plusieurs lieux, je ne sçay quoy du ramage Gascon, plus aisément que Pollion n'avoit autrefois faict le Padoüan de Tite-Live; chose dont il eust peu recevoir advis, par un sien amy. Et comme il ne m'en voulust croire, je le menay en ma chambre, où j'avois son Livre; et là, je luy monstray plusieurs manieres de parler familieres non aux François, ains seulement aux Gascons, *Un Pate-nostre, un Debte, un Couple, un Rencontre, les bestes nous flatent, nous requierent, et non nous à elles: Ces ouvrages sentent à l'huile, et à la Lampe.* Et sur tout, je luy remonstray, que je le voyois habiller le mot de *jouir* du tout à l'usage de Gascongue, et non de nostre langue Françoise; *ny la santé que je jouy jusques à présent: la Lune est celle mesme que nos ayeuls ont jouye; l'amitié est jouye, à mesure qu'elle est desirée. C'est la vraye solitude, que se peut jouyr au milieu des Villes, et des Cours des Rois; mais elle se peut jouyr plus commodément à part; je reçoy ma santé les bras ouverts, et aiguise mon goust à la jouyr.* Plusieurs

autres locutions luy representay-je, non seulement sur ce mot, mais sur plusieurs autres, dont je ne me suis proposé de vous faire icy l'inventaire; et estimois, qu'à la premiere et prochaine impression, que l'on feroit de son Livre, il donneroit ordre de les réformer: toutesfois non seulement il ne le fit, mais aussi, comme ainsi soit qu'il fust prevenu de mort, sa Fille par alliance l'a fait r'imprimer, tout de la mesme façon qu'il estoit; et nous advertit par son Epistre Liminaire, que la Dame de Montaigne le luy avoit envoyé tout tel que son mary projettoit de le remettre au jour..." (Pasquier, *Lettres*, Bk XVIII. *Lettre* I.).

189 19. Cf. *Essais*, I. XXXIX.; vol. I. p. 375, and III. V.; vol. III. p. 447.

P. 190 30. "Avant les troubles de Paris, Michel de Montagne... étoit venu à la Cour: il l'avoit suivie à Chartres, à Roüen, et étoit alors à Blois. Il étoit des amis particuliers du Président de Thou, et le pressoit tous les jours de songer sérieusement à l'ambassade de Venise qu'on lui destinoit...Lui-même avoit dessein d'aller à Venise; et pour l'y engager davantage, il lui promettoit de ne le point quitter pendant tout le séjour qu'il y feroit."

"Comme ils s'entretenoient des causes des troubles, Montagne lui dit..." (De Thou, *Mémoires*, ed. 1795: vol. XI. pp. 103–4).

P. 191 6. The possibilities are discussed at length, but scarcely to any satisfactory issue, by Grün, *loc. cit.* pp. 288 seq.

191 16. D'Aubigné, *Histoire Univ.* ed. De Ruble, vol. VIII., pp. 329–30. The same respect is implied in the advice of some of his friends, that he should write the history of his times. (Cf. *Essais*, I. XX.; vol. I. p. 129.)

191 21. Cf. Letter to Matignon, *Essais*, Courbet et Royer, vol. IV. p. 357. Cf. *Essais*, III. XII.; vol. IV. pp. 243–5.

191 28. *Essais*, III. XIII.; vol. IV. p. 259.

P. 192 8. "*Julius* 10, 1588, entre trois et quatre après midi estant logé aus fausbours S. germein à Paris et malade d'une espèce de goutte qui lors premieremāt m'avoit sesi il y avoit justemant trois jours je fus pris prisonier par les capitenes et peuple de Paris c'estoit au temps que le Roy en estoit mis hors par monsieur de guise, fus mené en la bastille et me fut signifié que c'estoit à la solicitation du duc d'Elbeuf et par droit de represailles au lieu d'un sien parāt jantillhome de normandie que le Roy tenoit prisonier à Roan. la roine mère du roy avertie par M^r^ pinard secretere d'estat de mon enprisonemāt obtint de mōsieur de guise qui estoit lors de fortune aveq elle et du prevost des marchans vers lequel elle envoia (mōsieur de villeroy secretere d'estat s'en souingnant aussi bien fort en ma faveur) que sur les huit heures du soir du mesme jour un maistre d'hostel de majesté me vint faire mettre ē liberte moienāt les rescrits du dict

seignur duc et du dict prevost adressãs au clere capitene pour lors de la Bastille." (*Ephemerides*, Payen, *Docs. Inéds.*, no. 3, 1855, pp. 17–8.)

192 18. Letter from Pierre de Brach to Juste Lipse (cited Payen, *Recherches sur Michel Montaigne*: Correspondance relative à sa mort, pp. 3–4; cf. Bonnefon, *loc. cit.* pp. 464–5).

P. 193 8. Cf. *Essais*, III. IX.; vol. IV. pp. 82 seq., 91 seq., and III. XII.; pp. 213–20.

193 24. *Essais*, III. XII.; vol. IV. p. 208; cf. *ibid.* pp. 221 seq.

193 28. *Essais*, III. XI.; vol. IV. p. 191.

P. 194 2. Cf. *Essais*, III. IX.; vol. IV. p. 110; and III. V.; vol. III. p. 391.

194 25. *Essais*, III. IX.; vol. IV. p. 137.

P. 195 7. *Essais*, III. XIII.; vol. IV. p. 338.

195 10. So much is probably true in the tale of Henry III.'s compliment and Montaigne's repartee. There is a copy of the *Essais* (1580) now in the Coll. Payen (with the monograph E. R., and a crown with fleur-de-lys), which belonged probably to Elizabeth of Austria, wife of Charles IX.

195 14. Cf. ch. X. p. 180.

195 29. "Le jugement qu'elle feit des premiers Essais, et femme, et en ce siecle, et si jeune, et seule en son quartier; et la vehemence fameuse dont elle m'aima et me desira longtemps, sur la seule estime qu'elle en print de moy, longtemps avant m'avoir veu, sont des accidents de tresdigne consideration." (*Essais*, II. XVIII.; vol. III. p. 99.)

P. 196 10. Rẽ Pierre de Brach, cf. Dezeimeris, *Pierre de Brach, Poète Bordelais du xvi^e^ siècle;* also Stapfer, *La Famille et les Amis de Montaigne*, ch VII.

196 16. *Essais*, III. X.; vol. IV. p. 160.

P. 197 26. *Essais*, III. IX.; vol. IV. 112.

197 31. *Ibid.* p. 81.

P. 198 3. *Ibid.* p. 81.

198 10. *Ibid.* p. 110.

P. 199 1. Servan, *Observations sur les Essais: Œuvres choisies*, vol. IV. p. 402.

199 7. Cf. Brunet, *Les Essais de Michel de Montaigne; Leçons inédites*, 1844.

199 13. *Essais*, III. V.; vol. III. pp. 444–5.

199 31. *Essais*, II. XVIII.; vol. III. p. 103; cf. also III. XII.; vol. IV. pp. 233 seq.

P. 200 12. *Essais*, III. II.; vol. III. p. 326.

200 27. One of the severest judgements on this ground is also one of

the most recent,—that of Dean Church (*Miscellaneous Essays*, 1891, pp. 14–5).

P. 201 6. "Je rappelle ici" (rē editions 1602–49) "une remarque que j'ai faite antérieurement à l'occasion de l'édition de 1593; c'est que, dans un grand nombre d'exemplaires de ces éditions, le chapitre *Des vers de Virgile* est complètement enlevé. Cette mutilation se voit surtout sur les exemplaires qui ont appartenu à des couvents." (Payen, *Notice Bibliog. sur Montaigne*, 1837.)

201 11. *Essais*, III. v.; 1588, ed. Motheau et Jouaust, in 7 vols., vol. v. p. 258.

201 13. Cf. *ibid.* vol. v. pp. 248, 249; vol. vi. pp. 34–5.

P. 202 8. "Ceux de Geneve ont esté bien impudens d'en oster plus d'un tiers." (*Scaligerana*, art. Monsieur de *Montagnes*, 1695, p. 269.)

202 27. "Or la vieillesse a un peu besoin d'estre traictée plus doucement et plus delicatement." (*Essais*, III. XIII.; Motheau et Jouaust, vol. VII. p. 92.)

P. 203 13. *Essais*, III. II.; Motheau et Jouaust, vol. v. pp. 200–1.

P. 204 2. *Essais*, III. IX.; Motheau et Jouaust, vol. VI. pp. 198–9.

204 5. "Pour moy, je n'en entre point au desespoir, et me semble y voir des routes à nous sauver" (*ibid.* p. 145).

204 12. *Ibid.* p. 139; cf. I. XXIII. (vulg. I. XXII.); Motheau et Jouaust, vol. I. p. 168 ("Je suis desgousté de la nouvelleté, quelque visage qu'elle porte...").

204 18. *Essais*, III. VI.; Motheau et Jouaust, vol. VI. pp. 48 seq.

204 30. *Essais*, III. VII.; Motheau et Jouaust, vol. VI. p. 76.

P. 205 15. Th. de Bèze was said to have reproached the Parlement of Bordeaux with its leniency. Florimond de Rœmond rebuts the charge. "Tous ceux qui ont laissé quelques marques du temps que l'Anti-Christ doit arriver, escrivent que la sorcelerie sera lors espanduë par tout. Eust-elle jamais tant de vogue qu'en ce malheureux siecle icy? Les sellettes de nostre Parlement en sont toutes noircies. Il n'en y a pas assez pour les ouir. Noz Conciergeries en regorgent, et ne se passe jour que nos jugemens n'en soient ensanglantez et que nous ne revenions tristes en nos maisons espouvantez des choses hideuses et effroyables qu'elles confessent..."(follows a gruesome tale of a witch condemned (1594) by the Bordeaux Parlement). "Beze n'estoit pas bien informé, lors qu'en sa chaire il taxa n'agueres nostre Parlement d'incredulité, et de peu de foys: parce disoit-il (et cecy tiens-je d'un gentilhomme d'honneur qui l'ouyt) que nous n'osions condamner les sorcières à la mort: nos registres tesmoignent le contraire." (*L'Anti-Christ*, 1597, pp. 102 seq.)

205 28. *Essais*, III. XII.; Motheau et Jouaust, vol VI. pp. 261–2.

P. 206 4. *Ibid.* pp. 262–3.

206 11. *Essais*, III. XI.; vol. IV. p. 196. The passage is not in the edition of 1588.

206 15. *Essais*, III. XI.; Motheau et Jouaust, vol. VI. p. 261.

206 20. *Ibid.* p. 260.

206 28. *Ibid.* pp. 263–4.

P. 207 4. *Ibid.* p. 263.

207 10. *Ibid.* p. 261.

207 15. There was also Sanchez, of Toulouse, whose book *Quod Nihil Scitur* was written about the same time as the *Essays* (first known edition 1581). But this work again was, apparently, intended as introduction to a new dogmatism (cf. Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, vol. II. pp. 97–8).

207 26. *Essais*, III. XI.; Motheau et Jouaust, vol. VI. p. 262.

207 30. Cf. e.g. *Essais*, I. XXVI. *C'est folie de rapporter le vray et le faulx au jugement de nostre suffisance.*

P. 208 6. Cf. e.g. "Je n'ay veu monstre et miracle au monde plus exprés que moy mesme..." (*Essais*, III. XI.; Motheau et Jouaust, vol. VI. p. 256.)

P. 209 1. *Essais*, I. LVI.; vol. II. p. 70. This is an addition later than 1588.

209 10. "Je rends graces immortelles à ce grand Dieu immortel, de ce qu'il m'a faict cette grace, d'avoir veu le triomph et victoire de son precieux corps sur Beelzebub: car mon bon Ange m'y amena en compagnie de quelques escoliers, estans tous en ce temps-là compagnons d'estude à Paris, et sur le poinct de faire naufrages de nos ames. La France estoit lors en tel estat, qu'on monstroit parmy nos colleges au doigt, et tenoit-on pour mal habille, celuy qui n'avoit eu quelque sentiment de la nouveauté Evangelique."..."En fin Beelzebub, vaincu par la presence du corps precieux de Jesus-Christ, sortit hors et quitta sa prison, apres avoir faict une fumee, et jetté deux coups de tonnerre, laissant un brouillart espais qui environna les clochers de l'Eglise, et tous les assistans ravis d'une si grande merveille." (Fl. de Rœmond, *L'Anti-Christ*, 1597, pp. 415–7.)

209 18. The *Heptaplomeres* was published for the first time in 1841 by Guhrauer, part in Latin, part translated into German; and the complete Latin text only in 1857. Rē Bodin, cf. Baudrillart, *Jean Bodin et son temps*, Paris, 1853.

209 26. Cf. Preface to the *Demonomanie.* ("Il ne faut donc pas s'opiniastrer contre la verité, quand on voit les effects, et qu'on ne sçait pas la cause...Or les hommes, qui ont la crainte de Dieu, apres avoir

veu les histoires des Sorciers, et contemplé les merveilles de Dieu en tout ce monde, et leu diligemment sa loy, et les histoires sacrees, ne revoquent point en doute les choses qui semblent incroyables au sens humain : faisant jugement, que si plusieurs choses naturelles sont incroyables, et quelques unes incomprehensibles, à plus forte raison la puissance des intelligences supernaturelles, et les actions des esprits est incomprehensible...Or il n'y a pas gueres moins d'impieté de revoquer en doubte, s'il est possible qu'il y ayt des sorciers, que revoquer en doubte s'il y a un Dieu..." *Demonomanie*, ed. 1604, pp. 28, 31, 36.) Cf. in this connection Lecky, *Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*, ed. 1890, vol. I. pp. 66, 91 seq.

CHAPTER XII.

P. 210 12. *Essais*, III. IX.; vol. IV. pp. 105, 106.

P. 211 1. "Feu Montagne, autheur des Essais, sentant aprocher la fin de ses jours, se leva du lict en chemise, prenant sa robbe de chambre, ouvrit son cabinet, fit appeller tous ses valets, et autres legataires, et leur paya les legats, qu'il leur avoit laissé dans son testamẽt, prevoyant la difficulté que fairoiẽt ses heritiers à payer ses legats." (Bernard Authomne, *Commentaire sur les Coustumes de Bordeaux*. Des Testamens: Article LIX. ed. 1676, p. 330. Cited also, Coste, *Essais de Montaigne*, 1774, vol. VII. p. 228, note.) The interpretation of the action is that of a lawyer, and scarcely consistent with Montaigne's confiding disposition in pecuniary affairs. He may as, or more, probably have wished to save his heirs some of the difficulties and trouble connected with the intricate laws of inheritance.

211 19. Pasquier, *Lettres*, Bk XVIII. *Lettre* I.

P. 212 14. The Sonnet was affixed to an edition of the *Essays* in 1602; and is cited in that of Coste, 1745, Avis, p. XLI. Florimond de Rœmond speaks of Montaigne in like terms, cf. *L'Anti-Papesse ou L'Erreur de la Papesse Jane*, ed. 1613, ch. XIX. pp. 181–2.

212 18. Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Louandre, p. 394.

P. 213 4. The epitaphs, as transcribed by M. Dezeimeris, are as follows:

Ἡρίον ὅστις ἰδὼν ἠδ' οὔνομα τοὐμόν, ἐρωτᾷς·
μῶν θάνε Μωνταν^ὸς; παύεο θαμβοπαθεῖν.
Οὐκ ἐμὰ ταῦτα, δέμας, γένος εὐγενές, ὄλβος ἄνολβος,
προστασίαι, δυνάμεις, παίγνια θνητὰ τύχης.
Οὐρανόθεν κατέβην, θεῖον φυτόν, εἰς χθόνα Κελτῶν,
οὐ σοφὸς Ἑλλήνων ὄγδοος, οὔτε τρίτος

Αὐσονίων, ἀλλ' εἰς πάντων ἀντάξιος ἄλλων
τῆς τε βάθει σοφίης, ἄνθεσί τ' εὐεπίης,
ὃς καὶ Χριστοσεβεῖ ξύνωσα διδάγματι σκέψιν
τὴν Πυῤῥωνείην· Ἑλλάδα δ' εἶλε φθόνος,
εἶλε καὶ Αὐσονίην, φθονερὴν δ' ἔρυν αὐτὸς ἐπισχών,
τάξιν ἐπ' Οὐρανίδων πατρίδα μεν ἀνέβην.

D. O. M. S.

Michaeli Montano, Petrocorensi, Petri f., Grimundi n., Remundi pron., equiti torquato, civi romano, civitatis Biturigum Viviscorum exmaiori, viro ad naturæ gloriam nato, quoius morum suavitudo, ingenii acumen, extemporalis facundia et incomparabile judicium supra humanam sortem æstimata sunt; qui amicos usus reges maxumos et terræ Galliæ primores viros, ipsos etiam sequiorum partium præstites, tamenetsi patriarum ipse legum et sacrorum avitorum retinentissimus; sine quojusquam offensa, sine palpo aut pipulo universis populatim gratus; utque antidhac semper advorsus omnis dolorum minacias mœnitam sapientiam labris et libris professus, ita in procinctu fati, cum morbo pertinaciter inimico diutim validissume conluctatus, tandem, dicta factis exæquando, polcræ vitæ polcram pausam cum Deo volente fecit.

Francisca Chassanea ad luctum perpetuom heu, relicta, marito dolcissimo univira uniiugo et bene merenti mœrens P. C.

Vixit ann. LIX, mens. VII, dies XI; obiit anno sal. CIↃ IↃ VIIIC, idib. Sept.

(Dezeimeris: *Recherches sur l'auteur des épitaphes de Montaigne*, pp. 13 seq.)

By a comparative stylistic study of epitaphs of the time, M. Dezeimeris concludes that the author was a certain Saint-Martin, an advocate in the Bordeaux Parlement, and of local fame as a writer of epitaphs.

P. 214 4. Cf. Dezeimeris, *Recherches sur la recension du texte posthume des Essais de Montaigne*, Bordeaux, 1866.

P. 215 11. "*Maius* 27, 1590. Un jour de dimanche léonor ma fille unique espousa françois de la Tour en presance de Bertrand son père et de moi et de ma fame ceans.

"*Junius* 23, 1590. Un sammedi à la pointe du jour les chaus estant extrèmes madame de la Tour ma fille partit de céans pour estre conduite en son nouveau mesnage." (*Ephemerides*, Payen, *Docs. Inéds.*, no. 3, 1855, p. 20.)

215 17. *October* 20, 1608. "J'espouse à montaigne charles de guamaches vicomte de raimont." (Entry by Eleonore in the *Ephemerides*, Payen, *loc. cit.* p. 21.) Rē Charles de Gamaches, cf. Malvezin, *Michel de Montaigne, son origine, sa famille*, pp. 187–8.

P. 216 5. Cf. "Un personnage de dignité, me voulant approuver par auctorité cette queste de la pierre philosophale où il est tout plongé, m'allegua dernierement cinq ou six passages de la Bible sur lesquels il disoit s'estre premierement fondé pour la descharge de sa conscience (car il est de profession ecclesiastique); et, à la verité, l'invention n'en estoit pas seulement plaisante, mais encores bien proprement accommodee à la deffense de cette belle science." (*Essais*, II. XII.; vol. II. p. 518.) Cf. III. XIII.; vol. IV. pp. 248, 252, *et passim.*

P. 218 30. "Je ne vous recommanderai point de vous garder de ces opinions nouvelles, car grace à Dieu il ne se veoid point de personnes plus ardemment affectionnées à la Religion Catholique, veu votre age, n'ayant eu que 12 ans au dernier jour d'avril passé: et cecy encore de remarquable en ceste tendre jeunesse, de vous rejouir extraordinairement quand les affaires du Roy succedaient heureusement en ces mouvements derniers, soit par un ressentiment naturel de justice, ou pour espouser mes passions, lequel que ce soit des deux est tousjours tres-louable. Ces actions, et l'assiduité que vous portez des l'age de huict ans à vous tenir près de M^me^ de Montaigne, votre grand-mère maternelle, me fait esperer tout bien de vous..." (Gamâches, *Le Sensé raisonnant*). The younger child, the son, was not related to Montaigne. Eleonore had died, in her turn, and Gamâches had remarried, while still remaining in possession at Montaigne, at the time that he writes. Of the other grand-daughter, Eleonore's child by her first marriage, there is, perhaps naturally, no mention.

P. 219 30. "J'estudie tout: ce qu'il me fault fuyr, ce qu'il me fault suyvre. Ainsin à mes amis, je descouvre, par leurs productions, leurs inclinations internes; non pour renger cette infinie varieté d'actions, si diverses et si descoupees, à certains genres et chapitres, et distribuer distinctement mes partages et divisions en classes et regions cogneues..... Je laisse aux artistes, et ne sçais s'ils en viennent à bout en chose si meslee, si menue et fortuite, de renger en bandes cette infinie diversité de visages, et la mettre par ordre....." (*Essais*, III. XIII.; vol. IV. pp. 267–8.)

P. 221 10. Cf. Charron, *De la Sagesse*, ed. 1607, pp. 329, 404, 405, 449, *et passim.*

221 13. Cf. "Quantesfois, estant marry de quelque action que la civilité et la raison me prohiboient de reprendre à descouvert, m'en suis je icy desgorgé, non sans desseing de publicque instruction?" (*Essais*, II. XVIII.; vol. III. p. 103.)

221 24. Cf. *De la Sagesse*, Bk II. Ch. V. ed. 1607, pp. 423 seq.

P. 222 10. *De la Sagesse*, ed. 1607. *Preface, ou est parlé du nom, sujet, dessein, et methode de cest œuvre.* This preface is omitted in many

editions, which is perhaps the reason why Charron has received both undue credit, and undue blame, for his 'plagiarisms.'

222 27. "Car c'est pour ainsi dire le Breviaire des honnêtes paresseux, et des ignorans studieux, qui veulent s'enfariner de quelque connaissance du monde et de quelque teinture des Lettres. A peine trouvez-vous un Gentilhomme de campagne qui veuille se distinguer des preneurs de lievres, qui n'ait un Montagne sur sa cheminée." (*Huetiana*, 1722, p. 15.)

P. 225 4. *Discours de la Méthode*, *Œuvres*, ed. Cousin, vol. I. p. 130.

225 14. Cf. Baillet's account of the meeting of savants to discuss the new philosophy of M. Chandoux (*Vie de Descartes*, 1691, Bk II. ch. XIV. p. 162).

225 32. *Disc. de la Méth.*, *Œuvres*, vol. I. pp. 157–8.

P. 226 7. *Recherches de la Vérité par les Lumières naturelles; Œuvres*, vol. XI. p. 353.

P. 230 22. Cf. Malebranche: *De la Recherche de la Verité*, Bk III. Pt III. Chs. III., V.

230 29. Among his contemporaries, Pasquier regards the *Essays* as "un vray seminaire de belles et notables sentences" (*Lettres*, Bk XVIII. *Lettre* I.) and Pierre de l'Estoile uses Montaigne as his "*vade mecum*" (*Mémoires-Journaux*; ed. 1875–96, vol. VIII. p. 226).

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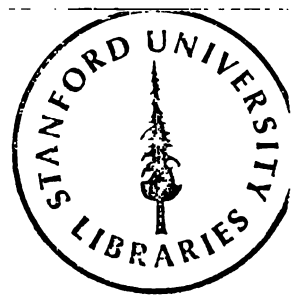
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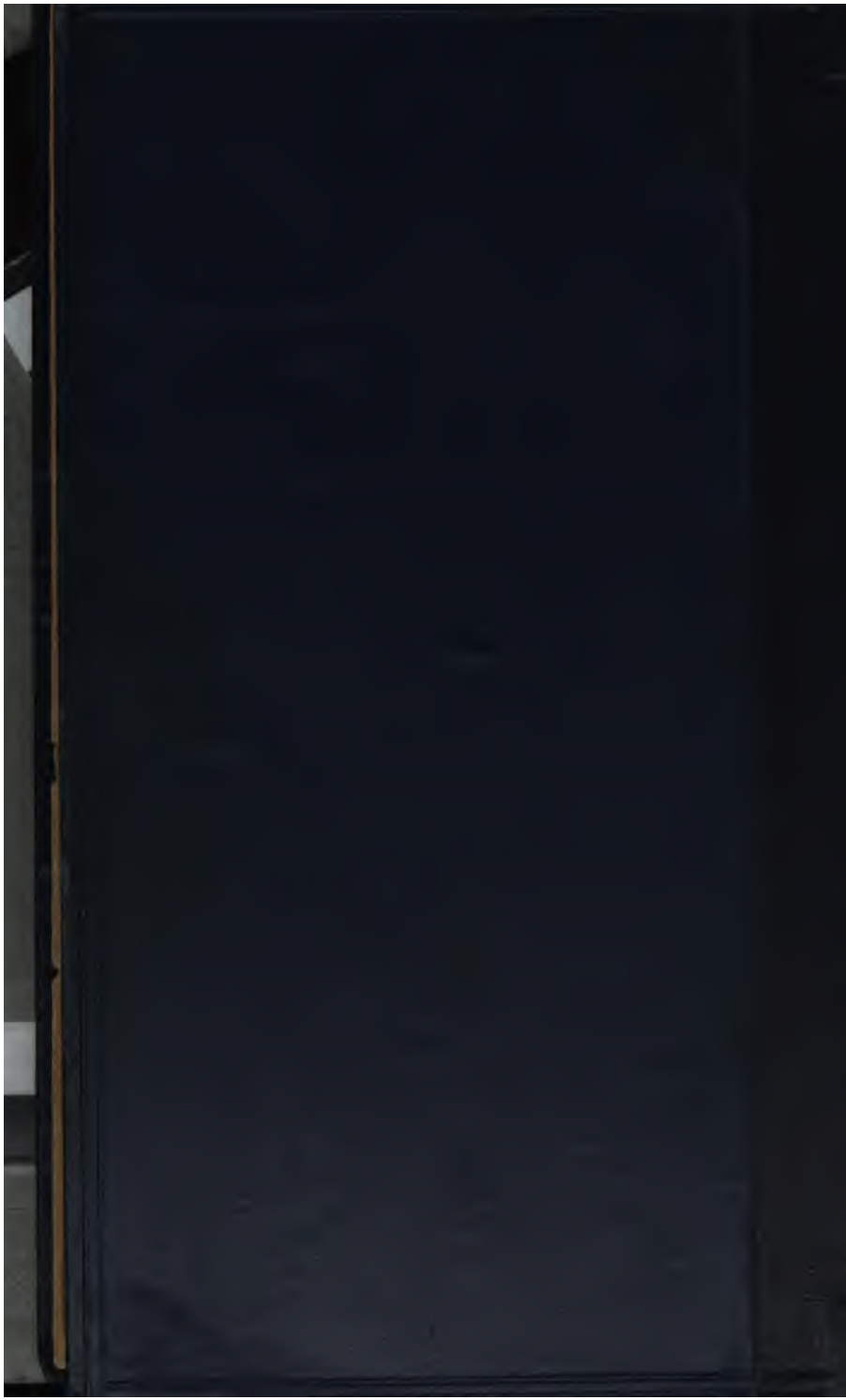
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